



# ICONOCLASM AND LATER PREHISTORY

Henry Chapman



# Iconoclasm and Later Prehistory

Iconoclasm, or the destruction of images and other symbols, is a subject that has significant resonance today. Traditionally focusing on examples such as those from late Antiquity, Byzantium, the Protestant Reformation and the French Revolution, iconoclasm implies intentioned attacks that reflect religious or political motivations. However, the evidence highlights considerable variation in intentionality, the types and levels of destruction and the targets attacked. Such variation has been highlighted in recent iconoclasm scholarship and this has resulted in new theoretical frameworks for its study.

This book presents the first analysis of iconoclasm for prehistoric periods. Through an examination of the themes of objects, the human body, monuments and landscapes, the book demonstrates how the application of the approaches developed within iconoclasm studies can enrich our understanding of earlier periods in addition to identifying specific events that may be categorised as iconoclastic.

*Iconoclasm and Later Prehistory* combines approaches from two distinct disciplinary perspectives. It presents a new interpretative framework for prehistorians and archaeologists, whilst also providing new case studies and significantly extending the period of interest for readers interested in iconoclasm.

**Henry Chapman** is Reader in Archaeology at the University of Birmingham. His principal research interests are later prehistory, bog bodies, iconoclasm, wetland archaeology and the application of digital technologies to the study of the past. He is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

This page intentionally left blank

# Iconoclasm and Later Prehistory

Henry Chapman

First published 2018  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

© 2018 Henry Chapman

The right of Henry Chapman to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

*British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN: 9781138038707 (hbk)

ISBN: 9781315177236 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman  
by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

**For Jackie, Sam, Freddie and Kittie**

This page intentionally left blank

# Contents

	<i>List of figures</i>	viii
	<i>List of tables</i>	x
	<i>Preface</i>	xi
1	Iconoclasm	1
2	Breaking objects	34
3	Breaking bodies	74
4	Breaking monuments	119
5	Breaking landscapes	156
6	Iconoclasm and later prehistory?	188
	<i>Bibliography</i>	197
	<i>Index</i>	229



# Figures

1.1	Scales of intentionality and agency in acts of iconoclasm	30
2.1	Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to the smashing, snapping or stabbing of objects	42
2.2	The four surviving fragments of the broken stone head from Mšecké Žehrovice. The fifth fragment was never found	43
2.3	Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to the bending or buckling of objects	47
2.4	Various levels of bending experienced by Iron Age swords	48
2.5	Bent sword from a La Tène grave at Farre in Denmark	49
2.6	Locations of cart/chariot burials from north-eastern England	52
2.7	Examples of dismantled and intact cart/chariot burials	54
2.8	The Gundestrup cauldron	58
2.9	Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to the deposition of objects, showing those associated with burials and those from other contexts	62
3.1	Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to bodies in life	76
3.2	The grave of the Egtved Girl showing her clothes, adornments and other grave goods	81
3.3	Elling Woman's elaborate hairstyle	85
3.4	Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to conflict	92
3.5	Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to human sacrifice	96
3.6	Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to the deposition of human remains in cemeteries and related contexts	108
3.7	Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to other forms of deposition of human remains	111

3.8	Huldremose Woman, showing the injury to her right arm	113
4.1	Locations of British hillforts and associated monuments mentioned in the text	122
4.2	The architecture of the marsh fort on Sutton Common, South Yorkshire	127
4.3	The development of the hillfort at Quarley Hill, Hampshire, between the eighth and fifth centuries BC	131
4.4	Phases in the development of the hillfort at Danebury in Hampshire	134
4.5	One of the stakes from the site of Beccles in Suffolk, showing evidence of carpentry	139
4.6	Locations of the excavated sites at Beccles, Barsham and Geldeston, showing the conjectured continuations of the monuments	140
4.7	Locations mentioned in the text relating to sacred sites, showing the positions of those within hillforts and settlements, those located outside or adjacent to settlements and those from other contexts	144
5.1	The later prehistoric fields surrounding the village of Edenthorpe near Doncaster in South Yorkshire	165
5.2	The distribution of pit-alignments in the area of Catholme and Whitemoor Haye, at the confluence of the Rivers Trent, Tame and Mease in Staffordshire, revealed by crop marks and excavation	167
5.3	Later prehistoric fields cut by a first-century Roman road in South Yorkshire, between the villages of Rossington to the north and Austerfield to the south	175
5.4	The surviving lower part of one of the larger posts from the marsh fort on Sutton Common, South Yorkshire	177

# Tables

1.1	Different levels of destruction in relation to physical reversibility	29
2.1	Different levels of destruction of objects in relation to physical reversibility	41
2.2	Intact and dismantled cart/chariot burials from the UK	53
2.3	Dates of cart/chariot burials from the UK	56
3.1	Differential levels of iconoclasm against the body, in relation to levels of reversibility and intentionality	75
3.2	Ages at the time of death of a selection of bog bodies	98
4.1	Dates of construction and use of hillforts in south-eastern England	124

# Preface

My exploration of iconoclasm in later prehistory began in 2011 when I was invited to join the AHRC-funded *Iconoclasm Network* by Leslie Brubaker and Richard Clay. The discussions that took place over the subsequent two years of the network, and at locations including Tate Britain and the University of Notre Dame, highlighted that frameworks being developed by iconoclasm scholars were not only applicable to the study of prehistory, but could provide a foundation for enriching interpretation. This book is my attempt at realising the potential for bringing together the two disciplinary approaches of iconoclasm studies and later prehistory.

The ideas presented within this book have been influenced by countless discussions with colleagues and friends. In particular, I would like to thank Leslie and Richard for introducing me to the subject, and I am grateful for discussions with the other members of the *Iconoclasm Network*, including Simon Baker, Tabitha Barber, Stacy Boldrick, Simon Cane, Lauren Dudley, Jamal Elias, Ben Gearey, Anna Kim, James Noyes, Megan O'Neil, Tom Noble, Fabio Rambelli, Eric Reinders, Dan Reynolds and James Simpson. I am also grateful for the numerous supportive discussions and suggestions from other friends and colleagues, including Eamonn Baldwin, John Carman, Simon Esmonde Cleary, Francesca Dell'Acqua, Vince Gaffney, Paul Garwood, José Antonio Gonzalez Zarandona, Mike Parker Pearson and Neil Wilkin.

I would like to thank the College of Arts and Law at the University of Birmingham for granting me study leave to complete an initial draft of this book, and to my colleagues in the Department of Classics, Ancient History and Archaeology for covering my teaching during this time. I am grateful to Matthew Gibbons and Molly Marler at Routledge for their support throughout the process, and to the referees for their helpful comments and ideas.

Finally, I am grateful for all of the assistance and support that my family has given me throughout the preparation of this book, and it is to them that it is dedicated.

This page intentionally left blank

# 1 Iconoclasm

Since the summer of 2014, the group calling itself ISIS<sup>1</sup> has been deliberately damaging regional heritage including museums, religious structures, archaeological sites and monuments. This heritage, which has included the World Heritage Sites of Nimrud and Palmyra, has led to international condemnation. Statues have been decapitated, and many ancient sites have been destroyed using explosives, bulldozers and sledgehammers, resulting in varying levels of annihilation. Far from hiding these activities, ISIS has used numerous methods, including social media, to publicise them to the world. The attacks have not all been about the material alteration of heritage, however. Monuments, such as the Roman amphitheatre at Palmyra, have been re-used as arenas for public mass executions. The drivers behind these and the countless other acts carried out by the group are complex and can be seen as substantially ideological, based on established principles and values, such that attacks and transformations were not isolated to religious sites and objects, but to the wider cultural heritage. Far from being acts of mindless vandalism, the intentions behind some of the destruction have been interpreted as aiming to “annihilate the local sense of belonging, and the collective sense of memory among local communities to whom the heritage belongs”, and achieved in conjunction with their wider “scorched earth policy” (Harmanşah 2015, 170). They are attacks on symbols and on how these symbols are understood and interpreted both by ISIS and by the international community. They are also aimed at erasing certain aspects of *unacceptable* history. As acts of iconoclasm, parallels can be drawn with destruction by the Taliban, such as of the rock-cut Buddha reliefs in the Bamiyan Valley in Afghanistan in March 2001 (Flood 2002). Here, varying justifications have been presented for the destruction, including an ideological need to destroy fake idols, a political response to the food shortages seen as resulting from UN sanctions and a reaction to western notions of value relating to ‘icons’ (Noyes 2013a, 169–170). Ultimately, these acts of iconoclasm reflect differing levels of physical alteration and focus on the transformation of symbols and, hence, of what they are seen to represent. They are meaningful.

Far from the politically sanctioned iconoclasm undertaken by groups such as the Taliban or ISIS, the concept of iconoclasm has also been applied to more subversive actions. A clear example of this is found in the long tradition of unauthorised graffiti, which is well documented throughout the historical past, as demonstrated

by the thousands of examples from Pompeii (Benefiel 2010). Whether one considers the content of the graffiti itself, the beliefs or institutions targeted (e.g. Perreti *et al.* 1977), or the defiance implied by the unauthorised nature of the act, graffiti emphasises how iconoclasts can remain effectively anonymous and thus identified through material evidence alone. It also demonstrates how, unlike state sanctioned attacks, more localised levels of iconoclastic action can be seen as targeting the prevailing authority, and this is emphasised by the observation that the removal of graffiti by such an authority can itself constitute an act of iconoclasm (Kimvall 2012). It depends on an individual's or group's perspective and it is clear that such different perspectives will offer different interpretations.

Iconoclasm is commonly associated with the destruction or alteration of material culture and has consequently been studied by art historians and, though to a far lesser extent, archaeologists, where the focus has typically been on historical periods. From a more methodological perspective, where the word *iconoclasm* has been used, it has been focused on the practice of archaeology rather than the material being studied. For example, in the 1970s, Atkinson referred to a "phase of iconoclasm" when writing about the impact of radiocarbon dating on exposing the apparent "falsity of much of the former picture or model of British prehistory" (Atkinson 1975, 176). Within heritage studies, ideas of iconoclasm have been explored in some detail, highlighting the ways in which cultural heritage, and its destruction, can be used for political purposes (e.g. Harrison 2009). A growing awareness of the social, political and economic roles that heritage plays, particularly within areas of unrest, has led to concerns about how different traditions, ideals and values mean that sites of heritage can frequently become the epicentres of cultural tension (Probst 2012). In this context, notions of 'preservationism' have been criticised as being exclusive and unhelpful (e.g. Holtorf 2005), with the argument that acts of destruction or loss can be seen as being part of the substance of heritage (Holtorf 2006).

Iconoclasm typically centres on differences in beliefs, ideals and values, and is interpreted within the context of an assumed motivation behind acts of breakage. It can occur as state-sanctioned action or, more subversively, to reflect defiance or to give voice to the otherwise silent. The motivations behind acts of destruction interpreted as iconoclastic are sometimes accessible directly from individuals or groups, or through documentary sources, which is perhaps why there has been such a focus on historical and contemporary periods. However, for other acts, we are reliant on the evidence of the resulting material culture in isolation. It is for this reason that an exploration of the concepts and ideas stemming from research on iconoclasm is so relevant for the prehistoric past where, in most cases, we are reliant on just the material evidence. Within this context, this book serves two purposes. Its first is to apply the theoretical frameworks that have emerged from iconoclasm research to the study of later prehistory in order to explore and demonstrate how these enrich the ways in which we ask questions of, and interpret, the period. By doing this, the second purpose of the book is to provide a foundation from which further research in this area can be conducted and then applied to other areas of archaeological investigation.

## Making sense of iconoclasm

Iconoclasm is a word that belies any straightforward definition. Whilst etymologically relating to the destruction (*-clasm*) of imagery (*icons*), its wide usage has led to numerous debates about its meaning (e.g. Boldrick and Clay 2007). A useful starting point, therefore, is to examine how the concept has been used by scholars in relation to different historical periods, particularly because certain periods have become synonymous with the word. The period from the late seventh to the middle of the ninth century in Byzantium has been termed the ‘iconoclast era’ (Brubaker and Haldon 2011) and, in Europe, the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century and the Puritan iconoclasm in the seventeenth century might be viewed in a similar light. However, the literature on iconoclasm extends far more broadly (e.g. Kolrud and Prusac 2014). For the purposes of understanding the idea of iconoclasm from historical examples, the following section provides examples from Antiquity, early medieval Byzantium, the Protestant Reformation of the early modern period, revolutionary France and from more recent and contemporary events. This provides a foundation for drawing out specific themes and observations in the ways in which iconoclasm is both understood and studied, enabling a clearer definition of terms that can be explored in relation to later prehistory.

## Iconoclasm in Antiquity

Within the Classical world, the frequency and types of iconoclastic actions vary considerably both chronologically and geographically. At a general level, and with a focus on Late Antiquity, these acts can be grouped into two principal foci. The first reflects an apparently religious focus, as demonstrated by the image controversies relating largely to early Christian iconoclasts during this period. The second relates to a more politically driven type of breakage focusing on *damnatio memoriae*, or the erasure of the memory of an individual.

During Late Antiquity, a range of destructive acts to statues, images and buildings is typically associated with tensions between the earlier pagan beliefs and the rise of Christianity. Although Christianity was not legalised and imperially sanctioned until the first half of the fourth century, from the second century onwards, the relationship between imagery and religious belief became increasingly complex. This stemmed from interpretations of verses of the Old Testament, and was most clearly expressed in the Second Commandment, which contrasted with existing Roman traditions. In numerous cases, the expression of such beliefs was demonstrated through acts of destruction of pagan images and sacred sites, including images, statues and buildings. It is, however, inappropriate to consider this as universal (Saradi-Mendelovici 1990; Jacobs 2010), as the occurrence, nature and apparent ferocity of these attacks varied considerably through time and in different locations. However, some general patterns can be considered.

The breakage of images and statues during the image controversies of Late Antiquity appears to have been highly selective. This is reflected in the choice



of images to attack where the representations of certain deities were seen as more problematic than others, as indicated at the mithraeum of Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen in France (see Sauer 2014). Selectivity is also reflected in the choices made over the level of destruction; from statue toppling or total annihilation through to much more targeted or discrete modifications. Such selective iconoclasm might have been pragmatic in terms of effort, but it is likely that there was more to it than just practicalities because certain body parts were repeatedly targeted over others. Attacks to the face frequently include the gouging out of eyes, but sometimes also the removal of the other sensory organs. Decapitation was also relatively common, as were attacks to the hands, feet and limbs, sometimes in conjunction with damage to the face; acts which “robbed the images of their ability to see and act” (Sauer 2014, 17). It might be noted that such aggression towards statues and other images were in many cases responses to the perceived power of the object, manifesting some level of metaphysical power or *presence* (see Prusac 2014 for a detailed summary). Essentially, beyond notions of idolatry, the images themselves were considered threatening, dangerous and offensive and thus needed to be neutralised. Other attacks appear to have been driven by other concerns, such as the frequent mutilation of the genitals of nude statues and imagery.

The notion of objects holding a perceived *presence* or power extends to the possibility that fragments might be considered to retain meaning and value following breakage. Using examples from late Roman Britain, Ben Croxford (2003) suggested alternative explanations for the archaeological evidence of fragmented statues. Following from ideas relating to fragmentation (Chapman 2000), he emphasised how the act of destruction creates new objects that can serve new purposes; in some instances, breakage could be directed at, or result in, the creation of new, smaller objects which, in terms of *presence*, might have been subsequently used as amulets or talismans. The retention of such items would explain the survival of bronze items where the remainder of the statue might have been recycled. In terms of the archaeological record, the positive selection of certain objects, such as fingers or heads, would result in different depositional patterns to those of non-selected remains, and that the discard of such objects might, in some instances, have more in common with votive practices (Croxford 2003).

In many instances during Late Antiquity, tensions relating to imagery were relieved through alternate means. Rather than destroying or mutilating some statues and temples, some appear to have been re-appropriated. There are frequent examples where portraits, rather than being broken, were altered by carving Christian symbols onto them. For example, a series of portraits excavated at Ephesos had crosses carved into their foreheads (Jacob 2010) and there are many examples from across the Mediterranean of pagan objects being *Christianised* by the carving of symbols, such as the Chi-Rho, or words from religious texts (e.g. Grinsell 1986; Sauer 2014). Such activities might have permitted the reuse of imagery and temples, but other approaches were also used. For example, offensive imagery might have been neutralised by its removal from sacred sites, and previously pagan sites might have been exorcised and rededicated (Prusac 2014).

Whilst patterns are determined by the survival of the evidence, certain regions such as the eastern Mediterranean displayed greater levels of breakage than others. Such differences might merely reflect a more gentle transition to Christianity in other regions, or perhaps variations in the frequency of use of imagery regionally, the differential use of perishable materials for the creation of imagery or contrasting image traditions. Such variations in tradition would consequently mean that interpretations of iconoclasm might equally be applied to sacred trees or woodland, particularly for regions with aniconic traditions (Sauer 2014). Hence, iconoclastic attacks would include those to a much wider range of symbolic object. Within the context of the veneration of fire central to Zoroastrianism in Persia, for example, iconoclasm would be characterised by destruction through extinguishing (e.g. Gaddis 2005). Approaches to the images controversies during late Antiquity were clearly varied, with physical transformations of objects and places including high levels of breakage, selective damage and alterations through the carving of Christian symbols and text. In other instances, physical transformation was seemingly replaced by the relocation of an object away from the sacred space to secular or less publicly visible contexts. Similarly, in instances of rededication, this might have been done through ritualistic acts that altered the meaning of a site such as a temple without the need for any physical alteration.

In addition to iconoclasm focused on religious icons, structures and sites, attacks also focused on the representations of individuals. Within the Roman world, the destruction of the memory of an individual was considered perhaps one of the most severe imposed in Roman law (Vittinghoff 1936; Mustakallio 1994; Varner 2004; Flower 2006). The condemnation of memory, or *damnatio memoriae*, could be sanctioned by the Roman Senate on those deemed to be disgraced, such as traitors. Whilst both the precise meaning of the term and its actual use in Antiquity as presented by literary evidence are contested (Flower 1998), related practices include attacks on imagery and inscriptions relating to individuals. The practice was commonly politically motivated and normally associated with Roman elites and emperors and applied posthumously, and could include the erasure of the individual's name from official records or modifications to standing structures. In some instances, statues were merely removed from public display, whereas in others, they were destroyed or modified to erase the identity of the individual. It has been suggested that part of the reason for attacks on images stemmed from their use as substitutes for individuals who were not in attendance at events such as trials (Grabar 1968, 64), focusing again on the *presence* of the image, particularly prior to the latter part of the second century AD (Prusac 2014, 43).

In some cases, where multiple individuals were displayed within the same image, just the offending individual might be removed, as in the case of the Arch of the Argentarii at the Forum Boarium in Rome (Kiilerich 2014). Here, the erasure of one individual's face and name is conspicuous in its absence and it seems that the blank space left ironically provides a striking and deliberate reminder of the person who was intended to be forgotten. Similarly, in numerous inscriptions, the erasure of particular names from inscriptions provides a similar noticeable gap. Following the assassination of the emperor Domitian in AD 96 coinage and

metal statues of him were melted down, monuments were pulled down and his name was removed from public records. Not all acts appear to have focused on the total annihilation of his memory, however; for example, an inscription honouring him was erased and left *in situ* on the *via Domitiana* near Puteoli, Naples, for a number of years prior to the re-use of the stone (Flower 2001). It seems that, although the removal of the inscription was aimed at the erasure of Domitian's memory, the continued display of the mutilated piece suggests something very different, providing a reminder of Domitian's disgrace. Whilst it is possible that some acts of *damnatio memoriae* were more thorough and resulted in individuals being more effectively erased from history, it seems likely that the act of forgetting was actually very much the opposite. Such ostentatious erasures, in contrast with the total destruction of memory, indicate intentions to dishonour memory rather than to destroy it (Hedrick 2000, xii; see also Kiilerich 2014).

Not all acts of *damnatio memoriae* resulted in such conspicuous erasure. The heads of some apparently decapitated statues were not always fully mutilated, allowing them to remain identifiable (Croxford 2003, 88). In some instances, portraits were re-carved to depict a different individual, although such acts of replacement are difficult to define as iconoclastic and it is noteworthy that the practice of re-cutting statues during the Roman period was common practice, as noted by Pliny the Elder (*Historia Naturalis* 35, 4). For the emperor Domitian, numerous likenesses were actually re-carved and recycled to look like Nerva, who succeeded him, such as those from the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome (Last 1948). In many instances, distinctions between different interpretations remain unclear, as demonstrated by the example of the early third century AD emperor Elagabalus, recorded by Roman historian Cassius Dio.<sup>2</sup> For a range of factors, including his political conduct, religious behaviour and personal excesses, Elagabalus was killed in a latrine, his body stripped naked, dragged through the streets and placed into a sewer before being thrown into the Tiber. In an associated process of *damnatio memoriae*, his name was also removed from public documents, although this frequently included modifications to images rather than annihilation, such as the re-cutting of his portrait to depict his successor, Alexander Severus (Prusac 2014, 44–46).

The practice of *damnatio memoriae* was not limited to emperors. It was also applied to various tyrants and enemies of the state (cf. Flower 2006). The re-evaluation of a series of Roman tombstones discovered in Chester in 1887 during repair work to the city wall has indicated a process of *damnatio memoriae* of Roman soldiers. Over 100 tombstones were discovered of which many were heavily mutilated, with epitaphs missing and images defaced. It was proposed that these tombstones were of soldiers from the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix following their involvement in a third-century rebellion that resulted in the legion's disbandment, and that the damage to them might reflect defacement linked with the destruction of memory as a consequence (Clay 2004).

It is possible to see certain parallels between the iconoclastic destruction or modification of religious images and the destruction of memory of individuals through *damnatio memoriae*. At one level, the divine nature of some emperors

demonstrates the blurring of notions of religious imagery whilst, at another, there were considerable differences in practice both across regions of the ancient world and through time. Similarly, there were distinctions between how portraiture and idols were understood in Antiquity in terms of whether they held an essential *presence* or provided inert vessels that could become possessed by the divine (Prusac 2014, 47). With practices affecting varying levels of social life, from emperors to soldiers, clear generalisations are hard to define, although certain observations can be made. Notions of what might be referred to as the *icon* reflected representations of both lived individuals and metaphysical agents. At different times and in different places, certain representations were seen as more dangerous or offensive than others, and were responded to selectively. It is also clear that the nature of representation was not universal across the ancient world, with different regions having stronger image-based traditions than others. Iconoclastic acts were carried out on images and statues, as well as on temples, but can also be interpreted for the destruction of more abstract targets such as trees and woodland or, in the case of Persia, fire. In some cases, such as that of Elagabalus, attacks included those to the human body as well as to imagery and text. It seems that any strict definition of *icon* as *image* provides an unhelpful categorisation when considering the targets of what might be seen as iconoclastic attacks during the late antique period.

Following a range of religious and political motivations, the forms of breakage, or *-clasm*, which are apparent from the period are equally variable. Total annihilation is difficult to measure, but other forms of attack remain far from consistent. Acts of breakage include the mutilation of statuary and other images, frequently including the gouging out of eyes, damage to other sensory organs and/or the removal of body parts such as the hands or feet, in some cases to create new objects of veneration (cf. Croxford 2003). Attacks also included the removal of text within inscriptions, as in various cases of *damnatio memoriae*, which might be accompanied by the removal of names from public records and removing the ability to talk about the individual. Other attacks were much less physically dramatic, such as the carving of Christian symbols onto images or temple walls as a form of re-appropriation or the simple relocation of an offending object out of a sacred space to somewhere more neutral. Whilst in some instances, offending imagery or objects were removed from view, others were not and remained on view within public spaces.

### Byzantine iconoclasm

Whilst acts of iconoclasm are interpreted for earlier periods, the idea of image destruction in the sense of the modern understanding of iconoclasm is commonly attributed to the Byzantines, who became the Christian successors of the eastern Roman Empire. Iconoclasm within the Byzantine world was so significant that the period from around AD 680 to 850 has been termed the ‘iconoclast era’ (Brubaker and Haldon 2011), with two principle periods of iconoclasm within this timeframe; the first in the eighth century and the second in the first half of the ninth century. These principal periods of iconoclasm are best understood

within the context of shifts in the use and function of religious imagery that had commenced towards the end of the seventh century. Prior to this, from the fourth century, Christianity had been the dominant religion across the Roman Empire, with religious practice, including the use of icons, seen as portraits that merely “preserved the memory of the saint represented” rather than having any special attributes (Brubaker 2013, 15). Hence, at that time, an individual hoping for a miracle would either need to request intercession from someone considered holy, or from a dead saint, either through visiting their entombed body or by access to a relic, such as a bone from the dead saint, or an object that had been touched by the saint, referred to as a contact relic. By the end of the seventh century, the apparent power contained within relics appears to have extended to imagery, in part due to the development of new types of sacred images such as *acheiropoieta*. By the eighth century, the gazing at religious images was seen by iconophiles as morally beneficial (Krausmüller 2016). Furthermore, the expansion of Islam into Byzantine territory forced a re-organisation of social structures, which included an expansion in the way in which the population could seek God’s help through new interceders. Icons took on a new role as being the real presence of saints, in the way that relics had done in preceding centuries, but with additional benefits; “icons had eyes into which the petitioner could gaze, and a face that the petitioner could kiss in veneration and honour” (Brubaker 2013, 17). The differences between images and idols became much less easily defined, with the latter becoming increasingly considered as portraiture (Prusac 2014, 47–48). Effectively, imagery became increasingly important within the everyday lives of the people, with the conceptual boundaries between icons and images becoming increasingly vague (cf. Karahan 2014).

The first iconoclast period, from approximately 730 to 787, might be seen as a reaction to the new power of icons. It was directly preceded and perhaps influenced by a natural disaster caused by the volcanic eruption of Santorini in 725, which led to tsunamis in the Aegean Sea and resulting in loss of life (Driessen and MacDonald 2000). This ‘act of God’ provides a possible context for the start of Byzantine iconoclasm. It was previously assumed that this commenced with Emperor Leo III (c. 685–741) condemning holy icons and replacing the possible image of Christ with a cross above the Chalke Gate at the entrance to the Great Palace of Constantinople. However, the details relating to this act of iconoclasm have been debated (Brubaker 1999; Haldon and Ward-Perkins 1999).<sup>3</sup> Regardless of Leo III’s actions, it is clear that state sanctioned iconoclasm was actioned under his son, Constantine V (741–775), under whom the debate around images was at perhaps its most institutionalised and contested (Brubaker and Haldon 2011). In 754, he convened the Council of Hieria, which banned the production of icons, and there are reports of persecution and martyrdom (Brubaker 2013). A period of mediation between the iconoclast and the iconophiles prevailed under Constantine’s son Leo IV (775–780) but upon his death, and the succession of Leo’s wife Irene as regent for his young son Constantine VI (780–797), the first period of iconoclasm began to come to an end. The veneration of icons was reinstated at the Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nikaia in 787. The reinstatement

of icons as objects of veneration lasted for about a generation before being overthrown.

In 815, Emperor Leo V initiated a second period of iconoclasm validated though ‘The Iconoclastic Council’ in the Hagia Sophia that year. This second period of iconoclasm lasted until 843 when Theodora, acting as regent for her son Michael III, restored the veneration of icons. This event, known as the ‘Triumph of Orthodoxy’, provided an officially accepted central tenet of the Orthodox Church and marked the end of the period of iconoclasm and the struggles over the roles of religious images (Brubaker 2013). It has been observed that Byzantine women, such as Irene and Theodora, were the chief defenders of icons (Kazhdan and Talbot 1992). Within the Byzantine world, relationships with sacred images are perhaps best understood not as image breaking (iconoclasm) but more as struggles over the use of the image or, as the Byzantines themselves called it, *iconomachy* (Brubaker 2013, 17–18). As for earlier periods, the attack on images extended from interpreted readings of Biblical passages such as the Ten Commandments,<sup>4</sup> but the practice was more complex. Lasting nearly 200 years, the image struggles included a range of acts with varying levels of destruction or modification of images.

It has been noted that, despite the iconoclastic focus of this period, there is little evidence for wholesale destruction (Brubaker 2006). Rather, it was more typical for specific elements of images to be targeted, such as faces. For example, holy figures depicted in frescos within some of the churches near the town of Göreme in Cappadocia, Turkey, had faces scratched out to varying levels of completeness, in addition to the painting of Christian symbols. More complete destructions or replacements are indicated through literary sources, although the nature of their removal means that the material evidence does not survive. However, modifications to imagery were not always entirely destructive. Examples such as the map mosaic found within the Church of Saint George in Madaba, Jordan, show how the representations of individuals could be removed through the re-arrangement of tesserae (Piccirillo 1993). This random replacement of tesserae is also evident on a range of other mosaics, such as in nearby St Stephen’s basilica at Kastron Mefaa, although such acts were far from systematic (Brubaker and Haldon 2011, 109–112). Such modifications retained the overall form of the mosaics, whilst effectively deleting specific representations. Furthermore, not all targets were holy figures, with instances of the depictions of ordinary people and animals being targeted, most notably in Palestine. Iconoclastic acts were not always destructive. In many cases, images were concealed rather than modified or broken up. The famous depiction in the ninth-century Khludov Psalter depicts the whitewashing of a painting of Christ with a sponge next to an image of the crucifixion, and it is likely that many images were concealed in this way or removed to keep them safe (Brubaker and Haldon 2011, 208–209). Again, historical sources indicate that such subtle modifications were a relatively common practice, although hard to confirm in terms of material evidence.

As for earlier periods, replacement within imagery continued to be popular. Perhaps not surprising, given theories of the *presence* of the image, it was



common for representations of earlier rulers to have their faces replaced or reworked to depict that of the new ruler. Beyond interpretations of the power of the image, such actions provided a basis for legitimisation of the new ruler, but also reflected a level of pragmatism. Replacements of sections of images are known from both mosaics and monuments, such as the later mosaic portrait of Constantine IX Monomachos, whose face was inserted onto the body of his predecessor (Kiilerich 2014, 69). Whilst such replacements could be interpreted within the context of *damnatio memoriae*, they also satisfied a nuanced political agenda that mixed religious ideology with the legitimisation of power. Other acts that might be interpreted as iconoclastic extend beyond the chronological confines of the *iconoclast era*. The use of ancient spolia obtained from earlier, pagan structures within Byzantine monuments extends back prior to the seventh century, with the re-using material to convey particular political messages (Saradi 1997). In a similar way, the erection of churches on the sites previously occupied by earlier pagan temples provided a way of demonstrating legitimacy and re-appropriation, in addition to serving other practical or aesthetic desires. Such acts of replacement also provided a continuity of tradition from the Roman world.

Whilst there are broad similarities in the nature of iconoclasm between the Byzantine period and earlier periods, there are a number of fundamental differences. First, the motivations underlying iconoclastic acts took place against a more complex religious and political backdrop. At the heart of the image struggle, particularly between the eighth and ninth centuries, were theological debates relating to the relationship between the image and what was being represented by it; effectively, the extent to which images can embody *presence* (Elsner 2012). Within the Eastern Roman Empire, Constantinople became the centre in terms of administration, culture and religious cult. The emperors themselves held significant spiritual rank, equal to that of the apostles (Karahana 2014, 77). Hence, the *presence* of the emperor through imagery held considerable power. Arguments throughout the eighth and ninth centuries centred on factors such as the duality between image and the person being represented. For representations of the divine, for example, iconoclasts held that images of Christ separated his humanity from his divine nature (Brubaker 2013), which contradicted arguments centring on the indivisibility of the Trinity (Karahana 2014). It is curious that this *iconomachy* did not become a feature of the western, Carolingian world at the time where the distinction between idol and image continued (Noble 2014). The nature of the imagery targeted was less complex, although it generally centred directly on pictorial representation, such as within mosaics. Attacks on these objects ranged from obliteration or removal, through to modifications that removed offending images whilst retaining the remainder of the image. For mosaics, this was frequently undertaken by rearranging tesserae within a specific area, whereas for depictions such as frescos, elements such as faces were scratched or chipped out. In many instances, strict notions of iconoclasm are less certain, such as the replacement of the faces of earlier emperors with depictions of successors. In other instances, offending imagery was merely painted over to conceal it from view. The level of

destruction applied was highly variable and, for many instances, highlights the care taken over the modification of images.

Whilst Byzantine iconoclasm was characterised chiefly by image struggles that centred on theological interpretations of scripture, the acts themselves extended well beyond these classificatory confines. In addition to varying types of attacks to imagery, other types of object were also targeted. The re-use of building material taken from pagan sites in the construction of new monuments, or the locating of churches on the sites of earlier, pagan temples can be seen in this context, although it is noteworthy that some pagan images and monuments were considered with superstition and not attacked (Saradi-Mendelovici 1990). Similarly, in the ninth century, at the end of the iconoclast era, the Church ordered that the body of Constantine V be exhumed from the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, burned and then thrown into the sea. Furthermore, his sarcophagus was broken up and used in the construction of a church (see Grierson *et al.* 1962, 53).

### **Iconoclasm and the Protestant Reformation**

The central place of Byzantium in the study of iconoclasm is only matched by the period known as the Reformation, which marked the separation of the Protestant from the Catholic Church. As for earlier periods, iconoclasm during the Reformation centred on controversies surrounding the image, although the specifics of these controversies were very different. Unlike earlier periods, the images themselves were not considered threatening as they were no longer generally considered to contain any essential and inherent power within them. Conversely, it was the way in which images were used that provided the basis for fundamental differences of opinion and ultimately led to their destruction (Sauer 2014, 32).

Whilst the Reformation was focused primarily on theological differences with the Catholic Church, the iconoclasm associated with it targeted wider themes. Despite earlier critiques by the likes of John Wycliffe in the fourteenth century, the schism from the Catholic Church in Europe is normally associated with the initiations of Martin Luther in northern Europe and John Calvin in central Europe. In relation to icons and images, there were conflicting opinions in the early years of the Reformation, in part due to the differing backgrounds of the main protagonists as monastic and legal respectively. Whilst Calvin (and others such as Andreas Karlstadt) expounded a direct and literal interpretation of the sections of the Old Covenant regarding images and idolatry requiring, for example, the removal of imagery from churches, Luther distinguished between seeing images and effectively feeling the power of the image (Rasmussen 2014). Hence, the most radical groups of iconoclasts, with extremists such as Huldrych Zwingli, were from within the areas of southern Germany and Switzerland (see Wandel 1995) with iconoclastic riots taking place in a range of cities, famously documented in Geneva (e.g. Noyes 2013a, 23–26). In contrast, in the areas to the north, acts of breakage were much more selective, focusing on the removal of images that might be considered powerful beyond being mere representations.



The responsibilities for iconoclastic actions during the Reformation changed through time, moving from citizen led events in the early years to initiatives sanctioned by Protestant leaders (Rasmussen 2014). Actions included the removal or destruction of images and sculptures from churches, in addition to other objects relating to worship such as candlesticks and monstrances. At Le Cateau-Cambrésis in northern France, the attacks by iconoclasts in 1573 included the smashing of the altar tables and the baptismal fonts, the destruction of imagery, the burning of religious ornaments and the breakage and trampling of the sacrament of the altar and holy oil. It also included the persecution of individuals associated with the church (Spicer 2014, 119). In numerous instances, the level of destruction was thorough.

Struggles between the Protestant and Catholic Churches continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the rise of Puritanism, and this had continuing implications for the destruction of religious images. Between the mid-sixteenth century and the mid-seventeenth century, there was a shift from attacks on unacceptable imagery to a context of what has been termed *iconophobia* (Collinson 1986), with an increasing range of different objects being attacked, with sanction from Parliament (Spraggon 2003). Within England, the separation of the Anglican Church from Rome during the reign of King Henry VIII (1509–1547) provided a degree of alignment with these continental developments, although the historical context was different. A tradition of anti-clerical thinking was brought to a head initially by the political requirements of the king. Following the Pope's refusal to annul Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon, Henry seceded from the Catholic Church in the 1530s. This secession was followed by a programme of state-sanctioned iconoclasm that was characterised by the dissolution of the monasteries under Thomas Cromwell between 1535 and 1540. Including attacks on a range of different religious sites, this process of iconoclasm was directed at the theological position of idolatry, but also directly at the Catholic Church, which had become Henry's enemy. Hence, the attacks in England during this period targeted the belief systems of the Catholic Church, but also the political power of Rome as a type of nationalist iconoclasm. It has been argued that these attacks were at least in part aimed at disrupting what may be termed a 'devotional economy of images' (i.e. exchange of material wealth for spiritual goods), in parallel with the creation of a new economic position of market values (Hunter 2007).

The dissolution (also known as the suppression) of monastic sites in England was a gradual process and far from universal. What began as reform soon became exploitation and demolition. Other than removing objects, and sometimes lead roofing, from religious buildings, approaches differed from region to region and from site to site. In some cases, monasteries were used for building stone, such as Meaux Abby in Yorkshire, which was demolished to provide material for the king's fortifications in nearby Hull (Coppack 2006, 172). In others, with many across Lincolnshire, demolition focused on merely making the churches unusable. Elsewhere, as at York, the levels of destruction were much less severe (Perring 2013). It has been noted that the dissolution of monasteries in the 1530s and 1540s

reflected perhaps more of a process of asset stripping and salvage rather than ideologically inspired iconoclasm (Morris 2003).

At a local scale, iconoclastic acts resulted in the alteration of village churches. This included the removal of stained-glass windows, allowing more light to enter the buildings, which may have initially focused on the destruction of imagery and the purification of the act of worship, but also assisted in the use of books (Aston 2014). In addition to figures and statues being smashed or removed, wall paintings and imagery were whitewashed and, in some cases, written over with the Ten Commandments – an embodiment of the primacy of the Word over the image. Other alterations included the removal or reduction of the rood screen and the moving of the altar (Johnson 2007, 154–155). Whilst the archaeological dating of moments of destruction is problematic, the addition of textual sources relating to some churches provides evidence for other forms of iconoclasm including mutilation using sharp tools (Giles 2007).

An examination of attacks on images in England reveals specific details which reflect themes that were evident during earlier periods, such as selective rather than wholesale destruction. Attacks focused on specific parts of the body, and most frequently associated with faces and heads, followed by heads and hands (Graves 2008), with examples including both statues and two-dimensional images. For the latter, sometimes heads, hands and feet were scraped off or gouged out prior to being whitewashed. Even with stained-glass windows, sometimes just the representations of faces were painted out or replaced with plain glass (Phillips 1973). It has been argued that this treatment of images might reflect that of living bodies in relation to capital and corporal punishment at the time (Graves 2008). For earlier periods, one might argue that such targeted attacks removed the ability of the representation to ‘communicate’, although the apparent shift in how images were generally understood makes this less likely. Clearly, the relationship between imagery and living bodies raises questions about the perception of the body itself as iconic.

The focus of attacks during the Protestant Reformation was on religious imagery, but extended widely beyond. In part, this was due to the broad use of imagery that included statuary and reliefs, as well as wall paintings and stained-glass. The acts of iconoclasm varied considerably across Europe, and with differing motivations. In addition to differences between northern Europe and central Europe, the dissolution of the monasteries in England can be seen as extending beyond ideology to politics and economics, including the destruction of sacred spaces beyond just imagery. Equally, the ferocity of attacks shows considerable variation, and appears to have been linked to motivation, from rioting in Geneva, to orchestrated stripping of material from religious buildings in England. Images, objects and buildings were smashed, burned, whitewashed and looted to varying degrees. Despite these variations, some broad themes can be identified. In many regions, the destruction of imagery was highly selective, targeting faces, heads, hands and feet, indicating a relationship between the punishment of imagery and that of the living body (Graves 2008). It is perhaps ironic that the return to Catholicism in England under Mary I (1553–1558) saw both the reinstatement

of Catholic imagery and new attacks focused on Protestant imagery and objects (Cummings 2002).

### **Iconoclasm and the French Revolution**

As for earlier periods, the recognition of the role of images, sculpture and architecture as instruments of social control in eighteenth-century France led to them being targeted in attacks during, and in the years following, the French Revolution of 1789.<sup>5</sup> On 12 July 1789, a bust of Jacques Necker, finance minister to Louis XVI, was damaged and paraded by Parisians during protests at the customs gates. This led to the looting and burning of the *Barrière de la Conférence*, a symbol of the fiscal regime, the decapitation of an allegorical statue representing Normandy and damage to another representing Brittany (Clay 2012a, 15). Two days later, during the storming of the Bastille, sculptures surrounding the prison gates were damaged and, a day later, the building itself began to be demolished (*ibid.*, 25–26), coordinated by the entrepreneurial building contractor Pierre-François Palloy. The demolition resulted not only in the transformation of the building as a sign of oppression and feudal power, but also the creation of vast quantities of building debris. Understanding the symbolic power of these pieces of debris, Palloy sent pieces of the building to every district of Paris as well as to many of the provinces (*ibid.*, 33–34). In the weeks that followed the storming of the Bastille, renegotiations between the Catholic Church and the Revolutionaries resulted in calls for the nationalisation of Church property, forced loans and so-called ‘patriotic gifts’ facilitating the selling or melting down of Church property for the benefit of the state. However, by the summer of 1790, a new law ordered the suppression of all coats of arms and other signs of feudalism, resulting in the state sanctioned removal of symbols from churches and other public spaces by chisel (*ibid.*, 64).

When, in the summer of 1792, groups of Parisians pulled down statues of the king across Paris, the authorities responded with a decree calling for all metal monuments in public spaces to be taken down for the mint (Clay 2012a, 129). In practice, this direct damage reflected a longer history of less permanent iconoclastic actions against statues which took numerous forms, from the sticking of posters and notices to graffiti. From 1791, more direct damage was taking place, such as the unofficial removal of Richelieu’s name from the railings surrounding the statue of Henri IV. Following Louis XVI’s attempt to flee from France in June 1791, royal symbols were subjected to material alterations, by the pulling over of busts, to discreditation by the covering of statues in black cloth denoting death or perhaps public shame (Tackett 2003, 109).

One of the most striking narratives of iconoclasm from the period of the French Revolution focused on Edme Bouchardon’s equestrian statue of Louis XV (Clay 2007). This statue had been erected at around 1765 in the Place Louis XV (subsequently renamed the Place de la Concorde) and continued to represent Louis XVI. Prior to its construction, it was already the butt of derisive songs (see, for example, Clay 2007, 98), and as early as 1771, reports indicate that the statue had been subject to attack, being covered with filth, probably including human excrement

(Darnton 2007, 392), and its plinth was subjected to graffiti and the attaching of posters (Merrick 1991, 250). On 11 August 1792, the statue was toppled, and it is possible that its fragments suffered scatological treatment prior to their removal to the municipal foundry at Roule in order that it be made into canon to fire on the enemies of France (Clay 2012a, 195). The toppling only included the bronze statue itself and not the plinth, designed by Pigalle, depicting female allegories of the virtues. This provided a very different symbol within the public space and one that, given contemporary images, attracted people to stand on it. Adjacent to the plinth, the guillotine was subsequently erected, seeing the deaths of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, amongst countless others, during which time the old statue was temporarily replaced by a plaster one representing Liberty, itself later attacked and painted, before eventually deteriorating.

The French Revolution and its aftermath are characterised by a wide variety of both official and unofficial iconoclastic acts. Most early attacks on Catholic churches between 1789 and 1790 were not state sanctioned, but they provided precedents from which a legitimate and monopolised process of iconoclasm could take place, in part to ensure economic benefit to the Convention. Subsequent examples include the emptying and destruction of tombs of the kings of France from the Basilica of St Denis in 1793 (Noyes 2013a, 96), and the decapitation and removal of royal statues from the gallery of kings about the main entrance to Notre Dame in the same year (Clay 2012a, 217). In the latter case, the statues were thrown down onto the ground below, where the fragments remained on the damaged pavement until March 1796 as a symbol to the fallen monarchy. Later that year, the growth in de-Christianisation was marked by modifications to statues. For example, Daujon was commissioned in early 1794 to modify the large statues of saints from Saint-Sulpice's lateral doors where he transformed religious symbolism into revolutionary symbolism through the modification of the cover of a bible with the text "*Histoire de la révolution française*" (Clay 2012a, 258).

In practice, the process of destruction was far from straightforward. Sharp tensions existed between the desire to remove such symbols of control and apparent misrepresentation on the one hand and the aspiration to preserve artistic heritage on the other (Idzerda 1954), and it has been highlighted that the original idea of heritage (*patrimoine*) stemmed from destruction relating to the Revolution (Gamboni 1997, 31). The state-sanctioned destruction of images went hand in hand with the collection of art, with much of it forming the holdings of the Louvre. Iconoclasm in the aftermath of the French Revolution highlighted the contradictions between notions of destruction and creation (see Gamboni 1997). It should also be noted that iconoclastic acts were not restricted to the revolutionaries during this period, such as the destruction of the plaster figure of 'liberty' that replaced the statue of Louis XV (Clay 2012a, 239).

Many earlier commentators have described the damage to objects during the French Revolution in a strongly pejorative way, describing them as acts of vandalism (e.g. Gautherot 1914; Réau 1958; Souchal 1994). At one level, this is not surprising because the word '*vandalisme*' was used at the time, first by Joseph Lakanal and subsequently by Abbé Grégoire, in reports to the Revolutionary

National Convention relating to what we might now term heritage preservation (Clay 2012a, 1). One of the factors behind this interpretation is the apparent speed with which many acts of destruction were carried out. For example, in 1793, the Convention ordered that all symbols of the *ancien régime* were to be destroyed within just eight days (Idzerda 1954). However, one of the key indications of this distinction between a mindless vandalism and a deliberate iconoclasm is the effort and skill required for the destruction and modification of many of the objects affected. As noted earlier, the destruction of the Bastille required careful coordination by Pierre-François Palloy for it to be successful, and Palloy's skills were later commissioned for bringing down the royal statues in August 1792 (Clay 2012a, 178). Furthermore, following the 1790 suppression of coats of arms and other signs of feudalism, it was found that removal by chisel was both too time consuming and expensive to be undertaken rapidly, and so these signs were often concealed by a covering of plaster (Clay 2012a, 63). Equally, the entrepreneur mason, Pierre Vincent Varin, was tasked with the job of removing the twenty-eight large figures from the gallery of kings above the entrance to Notre Dame (Clay 2012a, 219). Even the toppling of the statue of Louis XV in 1792 was far from easy; an initial attempt using a team of horses to pull the statue failed and so the toppling was only possible by cutting off the feet. Clearly, the commissioning of iconoclastic acts by specialist builders, masons and artisans, such as Palloy, Scellier and Varin, demonstrates the deliberate and coordinated approach to iconoclasm. As for other periods, the process of breakage was one that was sometimes skilled and determined rather than violent and immediate.

It is clear that the iconoclasm of the French Revolution extends beyond any strict definitions of the word. As outlined above, well prior to the physical destruction of Bouchardon's equestrian statue of Louis XV, it was subjected to other attacks, including derisive songs, graffiti, attaching posters and pouring filth, including human excrement, over it while it stood, and on its fragments once it was toppled.<sup>6</sup> Together, these acts represent a range of different levels of attack with varying levels of material transformation and hence different levels of reversibility. These different acts, alongside the removal of church bells during the period of de-Christianisation between 1793 and 1794, had a dramatic effect on the sensory landscape of Paris at the time (Clay 2012b). Whilst noting that many of these acts might not be classed directly as iconoclasm, they point to a rich shift in the olfactory and soundscapes of the city, in addition to the more obvious changes in the visual environment.

The attacks on royal and religious imagery and other objects following the French Revolution highlight how distinctions between the two were not clear, reflecting overlaps between political power and ideology. Attacks to royal symbols were aimed at delegitimising the king as a symbol of political authority, but also as signs of the 'divine right of kings'. In contrast with earlier periods, such as the Reformation, attacks on images were motivated by what they represented rather than any intrinsic offence they presented, which is why so many works could be preserved (Gamboni 1997, 32). Economic motivations also played a part, particularly in relation to the confiscation and melting down of

religious objects made of precious metals. In the years following the Revolution, iconoclasm helped to remove symbols that could be perceived as challenging the new order or providing inspiration for counter-revolution. From 1793, this resulted in the official material transformation of all publicly visible Catholic symbols (Clay 2012a, 70).

The targets of iconoclasm during and following the French Revolution included a comprehensive range of images and objects primarily associated with the *ancien régime*, which included royal symbols and those related to the Catholic Church. Beyond just images, this included a wealth of other objects and symbols. The nature of the attacks delivered to these objects were as diverse as the objects themselves, as shown by the polarised notions of destruction and preservation that characterise so much of the period. In terms of the former, attacks included decapitating and smashing, chiselling and melting down statutes as well as other forms of image destruction. In some instances, destruction was carried out by highly skilled commissioned artisans, demonstrating the deliberate and planned nature of the acts of breakage. Revolutionary iconoclasm also included the concealing of images by whitewashing or by plastering over them. The widespread use of graffiti and even the sticking up of posters indicates, in some instances, highly reversible acts of iconoclasm, but ones that would have transformed the meaning of objects, images and the spaces that they occupied. Scatological attacks provide a curious alternative which, although physically reversible, cannot be conceptually undone. It has been argued that the French Revolution saw the culmination of the evolution of iconoclasm, extending from the *iconomachy* of the Byzantine period and the destruction during the Reformation, with an extension beyond a focus on religious imagery, a broadening of the types of targets attacked and the appreciation of preservation (Knappe 1981).

### Iconoclasm in the recent past

The examples discussed so far represent only a very small proportion of the historical periods during which iconoclastic activity has been identified and discussed. For example, there are numerous instances from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries that have been noted for exhibiting acts of iconoclastic behaviour, such as during periods of political upheaval, conflict and war, when there have been dramatic moments of destruction. For example, the Russian revolution of 1917 emphasised the destruction of the Tsarist past through the removal and destruction of Tsarist and other Romanov symbols, using complex rituals of carnivalesque humiliation and iconoclastic practices with similarities to those characterising the French Revolution. Some acts of destruction were decreed by Lenin, such as the removal of monumental propaganda, but there were also anarchic, unauthorised acts of violence. To a lesser extent, iconoclastic acts were also targeted against Stalin's personality cult following his death, which included the destruction of images and the ripping out and burning of school textbooks (Tikhomirov 2012). With the fall of the Soviet Union, symbols of communism were targeted, such as statues of Lenin and other leaders from public spaces, particularly during the



'Autumn of Nations' revolutions between 1989 and 1991 (Jones 2007). Not all statues were destroyed, and some were subsequently relocated to parks dedicated to the display of these re-contextualised statues, such as Hungary's Szoborpark and Lithuania's Grutas Park (James 1999; Williams 2008). In these examples, the attacks reflected both official and unofficial breakage, and involved non-religious, iconic targets, but also included the non-physically destructive neutralisation of offending symbols through their relocation.

A broadening of the traditional themes of iconoclasm can be seen in relation to interpreted iconoclastic acts that took place both during and following World War II. Under Hitler, a broad range of activities, extending from comprehensive architectural projects, to burning books, thefts of art and territorial expansion, as well as re-presenting the past through the ideology of Nazism, have been interpreted as iconoclastic (Noyes 2013a, 126). It has also been suggested that the extensive bombing carried out by various nations during World War II can be seen as an industrialised 'total iconoclasm' (Noyes 2013b). Other types of iconoclasm have been suggested, including attacks on memorials and gravestones (e.g. Login 2012, 2016), or even the ridicule of the images of leaders (see Legg 2004) as a type of non-material iconoclasm. In addition to the more typical themes of image destruction, such as that of statues of Hitler and Mussolini, the broadening of traditional interpretations of iconoclasm provides something of a departure from much of the earlier literature on the subject. The inclusion of buildings or even cities that were destroyed, the destruction of books or the appropriation of cultural ideas significantly broadens the notion of what an *icon* can be interpreted to be. Similarly, the nature of attacks, as for earlier periods, contrasted significantly between annihilation on the one hand and what has been termed 'discursive transformation' (see Clay 2012) on the other.

The Berlin Wall (Baker 1993) provides a similar example of iconoclasm that is not centred on representations of individuals or religious symbols. Initially built between 1961 and 1964, and modified over a series of phases, it formed both a physical barrier and a symbol of the Cold War as part of the Iron Curtain, formalising the earlier division between the Soviet zone and that of the Allies. Whilst parts of the Wall followed earlier boundaries, such as the line of the earlier Customs wall built by the Prussian aristocracy and demolished in 1867, the section crossing Potsdamer Platz might be viewed in iconoclastic terms, 'breaking' one symbol through the creation of another. From the late 1960s onwards, the Berlin Wall became a target for graffiti artists, with much of the work attacking what the Wall represented, but it also became a canvas for slogans against other negative symbols. However, the most obvious phase that might be termed iconoclastic was its fall between 1990 and 1992. The destruction of the Wall was carried out officially using heavy machinery, but also unofficially by 'Wall-peckers'. Whilst there were functional needs for the destruction of the Wall following the unification, the process was also highly symbolic. The Wall was iconic and hence it is not surprising that its destruction went hand in hand with the collection and selling of its fragments as souvenirs (Evans-Pritchard 1993, 13). Its rapid destruction also led to a desire to conserve parts of it in relation to its value as heritage

and its role in understanding three decades of the history of Berlin and the wider context of the Cold War. In a similar way, the selling of panels and other sections of the Wall containing graffiti to museums and galleries, as well as to companies and private individuals, echoes the complexity of values and meanings that the Wall reflected. Whilst not an image, attacks to it have been interpreted as being iconoclastic (e.g. Tikhomirov 2012, 85), with the Wall embodying themes of politics, ideology, economics and heritage in much the same ways that earlier targets of iconoclasm did.

As noted by Noyes (2013b), the period following the ‘total war’ of the first half of the twentieth century can be seen as reflecting a return to more localised forms of iconoclasm. The famous destruction of the two Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan by the Taliban in March 2001 provides a well-debated example (e.g. Flood 2002; Holtorf 2006; Noyes 2013a, 167–171). Some of the motivations behind this act of destruction were noted in the introduction to this chapter, including ideological, religious, political and economic factors, but the process of destruction is equally compelling. After about twenty days of attacks to the statues using a range of methods from hand tools to grenades, anti-aircraft missiles, bombs and tanks, the Taliban turned to specialists to blow up the two images professionally; an act reminiscent of the commissioning of Pierre-François Palloy to destroy statues and other symbols during the French Revolution. The subsequent attack on the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001 has been compared with the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas just months earlier, with both being considered within the same framework of cultural iconoclasm (e.g. Meskell 2002, 561).

Taking place just eighteen months after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the invasion of Iraq has become synonymous with other acts of iconoclasm. The toppling of the 40-foot high statue of Saddam Hussein in Firdos (Paradise) Square in the middle of Baghdad on 9 April 2003 is perhaps the most well known of a vast number of attacks on imagery representing the earlier regime. The head of the statue was initially covered with a US flag, subsequently replaced with an Iraqi one. Reportedly, physical attacks to the statue commenced with a largely ineffectual attempt by Iraqis using hammers, only becoming successful when US marines brought in a crane (Fahmy 2007, 145). Following the toppling of the statue, it suffered additional abuse, with Iraqis stomping on the remains. The event was highly publicised, not least due to the position of the statue near to the Palestine Meridien Hotel that was frequented by journalists. The event itself has become iconic (Major and Perlmutter 2005), but also demonstrates the high level of association between attacks to imagery and attacks on human beings (Freedberg 2003).

Acts of breakage in the recent past that have been interpreted as iconoclastic have clearly extended beyond strict definitions of the word; other acts such as the burning of flags or effigies of leaders could be added to the list. Attacks to the human body, as indicated for earlier periods, have been more explicitly associated with recent acts of iconoclasm. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the highly publicised attacks on heritage and religious sites by ISIS have been accompanied by attacks on the human body, such as the use of sites such as the Roman



amphitheatre at Palmyra for public executions. Furthermore, it has been argued that the direct attacks on the human body, including beheadings, mutilations, removals of tongues or ears, amputations, gouging out of eyes, genital mutilation and dismembering dead bodies can interpreted as acts of iconoclasm (Perlmutter 2007).

### Defining iconoclasm

The brief discussions of periods of interpreted iconoclasm previously are not intended to be comprehensive overviews, and other periods could have also been included. However, the examples highlight some of the variety of motivations, the range of different types of target for attack and the wide array of different types of destruction, from material transformation including annihilation to much more subtle forms of iconoclasm that do not involve the physical alteration of objects. Equally, they represent examples of authorised or official iconoclasm as well as subversive, unauthorised attacks, and include contexts extending from public spaces to the private. The variety of applications of the word iconoclasm provides a useful counterpoint to etymological and semantic definitions. Strictly speaking, the concept of iconoclasm relates to the destruction of and contestation over imagery and other representations. The Oxford English Dictionary defines the word as a conflation of the Greek words *εἰκών* (icon), meaning ‘image’ or ‘representation’ and *κλάσμα* (clasm), meaning ‘breaking’. In usage, the images or representations being broken are normally those that have been set up in veneration and thus their breakage relates to both a physical and a symbolic attack on institutions and beliefs. The discussion of periods where iconoclasm has been interpreted demonstrates a considerably wider interpretation of the word compared to this. In order to understand how we might begin to apply iconoclasm to earlier, prehistoric periods, it is necessary to draw together themes from how it has been applied to other periods to reach a more pragmatic set of criteria. For this, the definition of iconoclasm can be interrogated in relation to what an icon is, the ways in which it can be attacked and the motivations behind such actions.

### Making sense of icons

Within the distinction of icons as religious imagery, examples extending from relics and images to more abstract representations depicted through a range of media including paintings, mosaics, stele and sculptures, from pagan images in Antiquity through to the Buddhas of Bamiyan. Categorising religious imagery is problematic, however, due to the lack of distinction between the divine and living or lived individuals, as demonstrated by the *imperial cult* in Antiquity, the *divine right of kings* in eighteenth century France or Stalin’s *cult of personality*, blurring the distinctions between religion and leadership. Certainly, the images and other representations of leaders have been interpreted as icons, although the ways in which they were perceived has changed through time. At one level, images can be seen as neutral depictions of a deity or individual, but they can also be interpreted as containing a *presence*, such as that of a leader when they were not physically

present. They might otherwise be considered to contain an essential power, or being inhabited by a deity. In terms of objects, acts of iconoclasm included attacks to the images themselves, but also to representations in inscriptions and other textual sources. Hence, objects targeted for attack do not all centre on images. In religious contexts, targets have included objects associated with worship, such as candlesticks in Revolutionary France, or religious buildings and sites. In areas where image traditions are less common or those with aniconic traditions, acts of iconoclasm can be seen to target other types of icons including trees and woodland (Sauer 2014) or, as in the case of Zoroastrianism in Persia, fire (Gaddis 2005). As noted by Hans Belting, the concept of the image in this context should be considered within a triadic relationship between the image, the medium and the body (Belting 2005). The image can only be understood through its relationship between the physical context of the 'image' and the person perceiving it. The significance of the image and its definition as icon, therefore, remain fluid and are dependent on factors of context and interpretation.

A relationship exists between the destruction of imagery during different periods and that of the human body, both in life and after death. The treatment of Elagabalus in the third century or the exhumed body of Constantine V in the ninth century provide early examples, whilst the mutilations, such as those by the Mujahedeen, the Taliban and ISIS, offer more recent ones. The similarities in the approach to attacks on imagery and those on the human body that have been highlighted in relation to the early modern period (Graves 2008) provide weight to the idea of the human body as being considered symbolic as well as being the literal representation of an individual. Sauer (2014) suggested that attacks on witches can be seen as iconoclastic, with the individual identified as being a witch being seen as both a sinister and powerful figure in themselves, in addition to being a representation of a superstitious fear within which witches embody a threat to the predominant socio-political-religious order. Similar themes of iconoclasm to the human body have been explored in more depth in relation to iconoclasm in eastern Asia (Rambelli and Reinders 2012).

A great many other targets have been attacked within the context of interpreted iconoclasm. From the burning of flags to the destruction of secular buildings or even cities, it seems that the extension of the idea of *icon* can be extended to a vast number of different types of object, but with the key underlying factor being ideas of representation and symbolism. Hence, the definition of an object as a legitimate target of iconoclasm rests in the way in which it is understood at the time and the motivations that underlie the act of breakage. Bruno Latour (2002) approached the wide definition of icons by referring to them as *mediators* between the lived world and what is symbolised, whether a metaphysical agent, nature, truth or science.

### **Making sense of '-clasm'**

The types and levels of breakage seen through the examples cited are as broad as the definition of the icons being attacked. Cases of total annihilation are rare, although this is perhaps less surprising because by definition such levels

of breakage would inevitably reduce the physical evidence available for it to be interpreted. Despite this, there is evidence of metal statues and other images being melted down and stone images being broken up to be included in the construction of new buildings. In some instances, annihilation is implied, such as for the destruction of sacred trees or objects made from perishable materials, or the case of Persian fire for which textual descriptions can provide the only source. Acts of iconoclasm can be seen in two ways; those that affect a physical alteration to an object and those that do not result in any material change.

Acts of breakage range across varying levels of disfigurement. In the majority of cases, acts of iconoclasm do not entirely remove the representation that is being attacked. Statues can be toppled, decapitated or mutilated in less extreme ways. In several different periods, attacks on imagery appear to have been selective, targeting certain features such as the eyes, face or hands. A common theme from across periods is that the destruction or mutilation of images was intended to be seen. Domitian's inscription on the *via Domitiana* was left *in situ* for some time after mutilation in the first century AD (Flower 2001), and the royal statues removed from Notre Dame in Paris were left *in situ* for a number of years (Clay 2012a). The scrambling of images within mosaics in the Byzantine world provides a different variation on this theme insofar as the images became unidentifiable, although the mosaics remained on show (e.g. Piccirillo 1993). Sometimes, just parts of an image were removed, such as the genitals by Christian iconoclasts, and in other instances, offending images were effectively neutralised by the addition of symbolism, such as the Christian cross or Chi-Rho. Similar trends can be seen with the application of graffiti.

The process of breakage is also highly variable. Whilst there are many examples of attacks on objects by apparently riotous mobs, such as during the early stages of the Protestant Reformation, there are also many that were much more deliberately undertaken. The employment of specialists and artisans to perform acts of iconoclasm are seen at various times and in various ways. During the French Revolution, the employment of specialists such as Pierre-François Palloy (Clay 2012a) can be compared with the ultimate destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the Taliban (Meskell 2002). In addition to the physical breakage of icons, modifications can also include concealment. In both the Byzantine contexts and during the Protestant Reformation, offending imagery was commonly white-washed and sometimes written over and, in some instances, imagery was defaced prior to being painted over (Giles 2007). Concealment of imagery under plaster was also a feature of some iconoclasm in revolutionary France (Clay 2012a). Some physical modifications of imagery resulted in the creation of a new representation; in Antiquity, the re-cutting of statues to depict someone else might reflect themes of *damnatio memoriae*, although such practices were common, as with the establishment of a new emperor. A similar pattern can be seen in Paris following the French Revolution where some religious sculptures were modified, such as the example from Saint-Sulpice.

Numerous acts that have been interpreted as iconoclastic have resulted in minimal, if any material changes to objects. The movement of statues from sacred

to secular spaces in Antiquity can be seen as an example of this, effectively neutralising the object by changing its context. Similar examples can be drawn from the removal of objects from public spaces to more concealed locations, such as removal of religious imagery in revolutionary Paris to the Louvre, transforming the meaning of objects by their displacement (Gamboni 1997). However, displacement was sometimes intended for protection at times of iconoclastic threat. During the Mexican Revolution (1910–1940), the destruction of religious imagery and statues generally referred to as ‘the burning of the saints’ (*la quema de los santos*) commonly resulted in objects being hidden to avoid being broken (Bantjes 2007). Other forms of iconoclasm without material alteration include the covering of images with shrouds (Tackett 2003), or even shifts in how an icon is considered or understood, such as through ridicule (e.g. Legg 2004) or other types of discursive transformations (Clay 2012).

### Motivation, intentionality and agency

The motivations behind the destruction of imagery and other objects vary for different periods. Religious motivations are widespread across periods, although the precise nature of the motivation varies through time. In earlier periods, the notion of icons having an essential *presence* is important. In some cases, an object might be seen as an empty vessel with the potential to be possessed by metaphysical agency, whilst in others, the icon or representation might have taken the place of the deity or ruler, as in late Antiquity. In such cases, motivations included the need to destroy an object seen as powerful, malevolent, threatening or merely unacceptable. Sometimes, it was just a part of an image that caused offence, as seen with the removal of genitals from statues by Christian iconoclasts. By the Reformation, the motivations for attacks on religious images were slightly different, with a focus on what they represented rather than any essential *presence*. Hence, even when similar types of images or representations were attacked, what they actually meant to people will have changed and so the motivations differ. Such differences also provide reasons why, for some periods, it was possible to preserve objects, such as by moving them to a new context.

The examples interpreted as *damnatio memoriae* reflect a different motivation. Conceptually, the desire to erase the memory of an individual makes sense in terms of the destruction of imagery or the removal of their name from inscriptions and texts. The destruction of the images of dead pharaohs in ancient Egypt might also have been intended to damage the ‘soul’ of the individual in death. However, it is clear that this was frequently not the motivation. Rather than entirely erasing records, broken images and texts were often left on display in public spaces, perhaps ironically providing a reminder of the intention to forget, although it should be noted that sometimes evidence of erasure can also reflect much less aggressive motivations. Re-carving the face of a statue of an earlier leader into a representation of the subsequent leader might merely be pragmatic, and this was a common practice across the ancient world. Many examples appear to have been motivated in part by the desire to desecrate or to humiliate, such as the scatological abuse of statues

in revolutionary France, the abuse of the bodies of Elagabalus in the third century or of Constantine V in the ninth century. Evidence for the ridicule of images such as during World War II, or the rich history of graffiti during different periods or the desecration of graves, highlights how iconoclastic motivations can vary.

The commissioning of acts of destruction, whether during the aftermath of the French Revolution or by the Taliban at Bamiyan, adds a sense of distance between the intention of the commissioner and that of the skilled artisan who might not share the same beliefs and motivations. Icons will have different meanings and values to different individuals involved in their destruction and so singular interpretations of motivation might not always be appropriate. As strikingly seen with Parisian examples, it is challenging to separate entirely ideas of motivation and intentionality on the one hand and agency on the other. As acts of iconoclasm, these events are defined by their outcome within the wider context of actions at the time. Hence, the perceived ends (e.g. the destruction of hated symbolic objects representing the *ancien régime* in Paris) justify the means (commissioned destruction by specialists). The interpretation of intentionality therefore is dependent on a sense of both social context and temporality. The interpretation can take place prior to the event (planned), directly afterwards or even after significant time has passed with the re-appropriation of an act.

Contradictions in terms of intentionality and agency are clearly demonstrated in various cases of restoration. For example, the work by James Watt (1746–1813) at Salisbury Cathedral was aimed at the restoration and conservation of the building but was considered by many at the time as vandalism (Buchanan 2007). Similarly, the systematic demolition of nineteenth century decorated facades in Germany by the so-called *Heimatschützer*, or ‘homeland protectors’, between 1910 and 1970 have since been referred to as iconoclastic (Hiller von Gaertringen 2007). It has even been suggested that acts of conservation of objects within museums and galleries by professional conservators can be seen as destructive within the broad framework of iconoclasm (Cane and Ashley-Smith 2013). For some, activities undertaken with the motivation to preserve and protect can be viewed as iconoclastic by others. With the fluidity in the temporality of interpretation, agency can be interpreted and re-interpreted through time. An act of destruction might be intentional, in terms of reflecting a desire to break a representation, but breakage might also be accidental and unintentional, and later interpreted as deliberate and intentional. Equally, it might be possible to destroy through doing nothing. Failure to save an object from a fire might be an obvious example of this, although one that is hard to determine, but the active neglect of an object might lead to its physical deterioration over time. Equally, a decision to stop venerating an object might lead to a reduction in its perceived importance, breaking it in other, conceptual, ways. Accidental iconoclasm might include apparently unexpected secondary outcomes, such as the destruction of the soundscape of Revolutionary Paris, which was the result of targeted attacks on churches that included the removal of their bells (Clay 2012b).

Broadening notions of agency and intentionality further, there are examples of destruction that are driven through natural forces, such as volcanic and tectonic

activity, or by tsunamis. In Byzantium, volcanic activity in the early eighth century appears to have provided additional contextual motivation in what was to become the first part of the iconoclastic era. For earlier periods, volcanic activity is known to have been interpreted at the time as being driven by supernatural forces, as with the destruction of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the surrounding settlements and villas following the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79 (see Chester *et al.* 2000). In these instances, natural disasters are seen as having agency and some insurance companies still refer to such events as ‘acts of God’ (Rambelli and Reinders 2012, 177). Certainly, in the case of volcanic activity, religious perceptions of these events have continued into the modern period (see Chester *et al.* 2007). Whether these examples can themselves be interpreted as iconoclastic depends on many factors, including what was broken, but they do demonstrate the perceived powerful agency of natural disasters in the past.

The agency, motivation and intentionality behind acts of iconoclasm vary considerably. Even where written sources that record intentions exist, singular interpretations should be treated with caution because not all agents will necessarily have had the same motivations. Some attacks were certainly focused on a desire to destroy, for a range of reasons and by a range of agents. Other motivations are less easy to define, particularly where the perceived destruction is carried out with the intention to protect or preserve, or where destruction occurs due to a lack of awareness over what is being destroyed. There are obvious relationships between motivation and both the choice of objects to break and the level of destruction applied. As noted by Fabio Rambelli and Eric Reinders (2012, 177), we might even ask, “is intentionality, or agency, the best way to consider iconoclasm?”

### **Re-thinking iconoclasm and the study of prehistory**

At one level, the exploration of iconoclasm in prehistory might be seen as problematic. With a lack of available written sources from the period, the measurement of meanings and values associated with objects, or the motivations behind their destruction, can be viewed as impossible to define. However, it is clear that for historical periods where text survives such definitions are similarly problematic as demonstrated by debates around intentionality, as well as by the under-representation of the plurality of different perceptions that acts of destruction would have had at the time. In practice, even where textual sources are available there remains a reliance on the material culture of iconoclasm as a foundation for its interpretation. As prehistory is reliant on the interpretation of such material evidence, it should not lie outside of the framework of iconoclasm scholarship.

In light of the challenges in defining iconoclasm, previous researchers have presented alternative terminology in attempts to clarify meaning. Dario Gamboni (1997, 17–20) compared the use of the two associated words *iconoclasm* and *vandalism*, with the former being distinctive in terms of motivation and meaning, whilst acknowledging that the semantic definitions of both have widened significantly within academic discourse. He also noted that the use of each word was further complicated by tradition, with certain contexts such as Byzantium and

the Reformation normally associated with *iconoclasm*, whilst destruction during other periods such as the French Revolution was normally referred to as *vandalism*. For other scholars, these words were seen as inappropriate for understanding specific acts of breakage. For example, Bruno Latour (2002, 16) coined the term *iconoclash* for acts where it remained uncertain whether the motivations behind them were destructive or constructive. For Rambelli and Reinders, narrower definitions were needed that specifically reflected different acts within the overall banner of iconoclasm. Many acts of iconoclasm either focused on, or resulted in, the *destruction of meaning*; an example perhaps being the relocation of a religious object from a sacred space to a museum. Referring to this destruction of meaning, they used the word *semioclasm* (Rambelli and Reinders 2007), and even proposed a sub-class of this for the specific “destruction or denial of sacred meaning attributed to religious objects” for which they used the word *hieroclasm* (Rambelli and Reinders 2012, 172). The development of new terminology is perhaps not surprising given the long history of contestation around the word iconoclasm (see Boldrick and Clay 2007), and it is perhaps telling that even the Byzantines opted for the word *iconomachy*, or image struggle rather than *iconoclasm* (Brubaker 2013, 17).

It is not the intention here to further define the word iconoclasm. Rather, the aim is to show how theories of iconoclasm, within the breadth of their application, can be extended to the study of prehistory and thereby enrich its interpretation. The theoretical frameworks that have emerged through recent scholarship relating to iconoclasm provide a strong foundation for both the identification and interpretation of different forms of iconoclastic acts and can be explored in relation to three themes; how we think about icons and their transformation through iconoclasm, the different levels of destruction and ideas of reversibility and, finally, varying ideas of intentionality.

### **Icons as signs, iconoclasm as sign transformation**

The challenges of defining icons within the study of iconoclasm are mirrored by the impressive range of different types of object that have been included within interpretations. Perhaps because of this, it also becomes problematic to disassociate icons from acts resulting in their destruction or change. To interpret iconoclasm there is first a need to consider the meanings and values associated with an object prior to its breakage, and then how these are transformed by the iconoclastic act. Whilst words such as *iconoclasm*, or even *destruction*, infer specific moments in time, the actual interpretation must be considered as a process that extends over a longer period.

In light of these problems, Richard Clay (2007) suggested an alternative framework for considering the variability of different icons themselves in addition to the acts of iconoclasm to them, considering such acts as part of a process rather than as specific instances of breakage. Borrowing from semiotics, Clay argued that a more useful way of considering icons was as signs (or *signifiers*). Such a definition not only allows for a usefully clear interpretative separation



between an object and its meaning (the *signified*) but also provides a framework for considering the plurality of meanings that an object can have. Such meanings would have been influenced by contemporaneous knowledge, discourse and convention, which Clay referred to as *semiotic ground*, and which is likely to have been understood and shared, with some variation, by a community in the past but, for the historian or archaeologist, would require interpretation. Meanings relating to an object would also have varied between different communities and individuals, and would have changed through time, presenting rich grounds for exploring the changes to an object produced by iconoclasm.

The wide range of different types of breakage identified in studies of iconoclasm present yet another challenge when considering the *-clasm* element of the word. From ideas of *semioclasm* (Rambelli and Reinders 2007) to more comprehensive physical destruction, a single term might seem inappropriate. To address this, Clay (2007) used the term *transformation*, encompassing all types of change. Hence, for Clay, the distinction between semioclasm and physical destruction was seen as between *discursive sign transformation* and *material sign transformation*. In addition to providing a useable framework that could include all of the types of iconoclasm, identified from the various studies of the subject for different periods and places, it also facilitated the interpretation of the *process* relating to iconoclastic acts rather than seeing them as moments in time and space. Such a neutral term reflects change whilst avoiding inherent interpretative assumptions. Furthermore, *sign transformation* emphasises that the meaning of an object does not stop at the point of the iconoclastic act, but might be transformed by it.

There are certain parallels between this approach to iconoclasm and studies of material culture within the archaeological literature. The application of semiotic theory to the study of objects is not new (e.g. Preucel 2006; Nash and Children 2008), nor is the focus on process. Archaeology is fundamentally bound up with notions of change and transformation, most clearly by the definition of periods based upon typological change (e.g. the three-age system). Equally, the emphasis on process has a long history in archaeological thought (e.g. Schiffer 1972), including the development and discussion of biographical or 'life-history' approaches to the study of material culture (Gosden and Marshall 1999; Holtorf 2002) and monuments (e.g. Holtorf 1998; Last 1998; Gillings and Pollard 1999). Such studies have demonstrated the potential for exploring the plurality of contemporaneous meanings as well as the transformation of these meanings through time. More recently, a case has been made for *Process Archaeology* focusing on themes of transformation and change (Gosden and Malafouris 2015).

Central to many debates in archaeology that consider the breakage of objects is the theory of *fragmentation* and the associated notion of *enchainment*, originally outlined by John Chapman (2000; also Chapman and Gaydarska 2010). At the core of this work is the idea that the breakage of objects, or even human remains (see also Brück 2006), transforms purpose and meaning, and that the resulting fragments can have new purposes and meanings. It was noted that objects can be broken accidentally or through use, and can be either casually discarded or deliberately buried, or they might also be ritually 'killed' and deposited. Perhaps more



significantly, Chapman argued that some objects might be broken to disperse their essential power (such as fertility) and distributed to spread this power, or they might be deliberately broken so that the fragments can be used in “relations of enchainment” (Chapman 2000, 23). As for Clay (2007), the fragments of broken objects can retain values and meanings or, through breakage, create new meanings, whether intended through the purposeful act of breakage or potentially recoverable as a consequence of it (see also Latour 2002).


### **Levels of destruction and reversibility**

From the examples discussed, there is considerable variation in the levels of destruction experienced. It is unusual for an object to become completely materially obliterated without leaving any residue and, even when a high level of destruction takes place, the resulting fragments might maintain potent meaning for certain individuals or groups and might therefore manifest new purposes. In other circumstances, objects can be partially damaged or disfigured, and there are numerous instances of selective iconoclasm, such as the targeting of specific body parts of an image or statute. The material transformation of an object can vary, but can also provide different possibilities for the re-use of fragments from it.

In addition to the material transformation of objects, it is also evident from the examples of iconoclasm from different periods that it is possible to damage a physical object in ways that do not directly affect the material form of the object attacked. At one end of this scale, such acts might include smearing the image or statue with paint, blood or even excrement, and at the other end, the meaning of objects can be transformed, such as by expressing insults, characterised as *discursive transformation* (Clay 2007) or *semioclasm* (Rambelli and Reinders 2007). Such acts, which do not alter the material integrity of an object, are physically reversible, although in some instances, humiliations might make a conceptual reversal unacceptable, perhaps making the sacred profane. Equally, the extinguishing of a sacred fire might be practically reversible, but symbolically impossible. Other forms of non-material transformation include the re-location of objects, such as from sacred to neutral spaces, concealment, such as through burial, hiding or disguising, imprisoning or even stealing.

Within the context of iconoclasm and Buddhism in eastern Asia, Rambelli and Reinders established what they referred to as a “catalogue of destruction” (Rambelli and Reinders 2007, 2012, 171). One of the principal drivers for this was the requirement to include and even draw attention to acts of iconoclasm where only partial obliteration might have taken place, from which shifts in cultural meaning could be interpreted. Table 1.1 provides a summary of the wide range of levels of destruction and the associated potential for reversibility adapted from their work. This provides a framework against which examples from prehistory can be categorised. However, it is worth noting that, whilst many of these transformations are materially reversible, interpretation of these acts should consider the cultural shifts in terms of meaning and value that such acts might create.

*Table 1.1* Different levels of destruction in relation to physical reversibility (after Rambelli and Reinders [2012, 181] with modifications)

<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Irreversible loss of physical integrity of the object</div> <div style="margin: 0 10px;">  </div> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl;">More reversible</div> </div>	Obliteration without residue
	Destruction with residue
	Disfiguring: partial destruction, damage
	Humiliation: abuse, insult, demotion
	Theft
	Hiding: burial, disguise, imprisonment
	Negative cultural redefinition (discursive transformation)

### Intentionality, agency and motivation

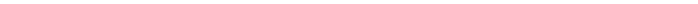
Interpretations of iconoclasm are frequently inseparable from themes of motivation and intentionality, although defining these is frequently problematic and complex (e.g. Freedberg 1985). Whilst strict definitions of iconoclasm often centre on the need for destruction to be intentional and aimed at destruction (e.g. Simpson 2010), there are numerous instances where intentionality is less clear. Where specialists are commissioned to carry out the iconoclastic destruction requested by commissioners, motivations might range from the ideological of the latter, to perhaps the financial motivations of the former. There is no unifying motivation behind iconoclasm. Even for religious iconoclasm, at different times and places, the motivation might be driven by fear of the supernatural *presence* of an object, by a passionate desire to destroy unacceptable symbols, or by the desire to preserve and neutralise, such as through an object's relocation.

Bruno Latour (2002, 20) identified five types of iconoclastic gesture relating to intentionality. The first centred on the destruction of images that were unbearable, as a necessity to free people from their attachment to imagery in terms of purification. The second related to actions that were intended to redirect attention from inappropriate imagery to acceptable symbols. The third gesture centred on the need to destroy symbols that had become offensive due to circumstances, such as the burning of enemy flags, inevitably resulting in those enemies becoming more attached to the symbols being attacked. The fourth focused on acts of breakage that might only be seen as iconoclastic in retrospect. This would relate, for example, to acts of conservation that are subsequently viewed by others as vandalism. In such cases, the intention behind the act would not be iconoclastic, but only interpreted as such by others. Latour's final category centred on acts motivated by a desire to show irreverence and disrespect, and might include both physical acts of breakage as well as discursive transformations. These categories provide a useful framework that reflects the breadth of interpreted intentions for interpreted iconoclastic acts in the past. They also highlight the importance of context when interpreting these acts, as well as the complexity of interpretations. However, as

If agency and intentionality are broadened to include some natural processes, then destruction itself can occur over a variety of different timescales. Entropic damage, or destruction resulting from exposure to the elements, or even through wear and tear, might seem to be extending such notions too far when thinking about iconoclasm. However, if it is considered that such damage resulted from carelessness or the conscious decisions to not maintain or protect an object, then the act can be seen as having both agency and intentionality resulting in, effectively, deliberate breakage. There are circumstances where the two factors of supernatural agency and neglect overlap. For example, an individual might fall ill or be in an accident that prevents them from being able to conduct farming practices resulting in loss of crops. Whilst such an act might seem entirely without agency, it is possible to imagine that the interpretation of these factors in the past could focus on neglect caused by supernatural intervention. In their “catalogue of destruction”, Rambelli and Reinders (2012, 177) addressed these issues as scalar, incorporating themes of natural or supernatural agency with ‘passivity’ included on the scale between intentional and unintentional destruction (Figure 1.1).

**Destruction**

Unintentional                      neglect, passive response                      Intentional  
no agency or natural agency      quasi-natural agency      supernatural and human agency



*Figure 1.1* Scales of intentionality and agency in acts of iconoclasm (after Ramelli and Reinders 2012, 177).

the scale, in the area of discursive transformation, or *semioclasm*, a benevolent interpretation might be through cultural redefinition as an object within a museum exhibit.<sup>7</sup> Between these two extremes, it is possible to consider the varying levels of destruction of an object within the context of positive interpretation. Even within periods of state sanctioned iconoclasm, objects that might normally have been destroyed have been removed from their physical context into hiding for their protection, despite the act of removal impacting on the object's symbolic value. Hence, the level of destruction might not always reflect motivation.

### Defining iconoclasm for the study of prehistory

Strictly speaking, the word iconoclasm refers to the destruction of images, and particularly religious images. Furthermore, many interpretations focus on notions of intentionality. However, as the examples from periods and events that have been interpreted as iconoclastic show, there are significant variations to the practice, in terms of the types of objects attacked, the level of destruction experienced by them, and the agencies, motivations and intentions behind these acts. This observation is not new, and is reflected by recent attempts in iconoclasm studies to re-define and re-classify the subject. As a consequence of both the observations and the creation of new theoretical and classificatory schemes, it has become possible to begin considering notions of iconoclasm to earlier, prehistoric periods (e.g. Chapman and Gearey 2013a).

There are two specific, though interrelated, reasons for extending iconoclasm studies to prehistory. First, whilst hard to define, and perhaps because of this, the notion of iconoclasm opens up new ways of thinking about moments of change, including intentionality and agency, as well as the different patterns of meanings and values, which, through acts of breakage, might be either challenged or reinforced. In doing so, we might enrich the ways in which we ask questions of prehistory. By drawing focus on moments of change or breakage, and questioning these transformations in terms of how they were perceived or valued by different audiences, we are forced to consider factors of scale in terms of space and time, as well as permanence and reversibility. We are also forced to ask questions of intentionality, meanings and values. In doing so, this provides a fresh approach, drawing on current themes such as agency and fragmentation, to draw new interpretations from the period. Second, by exploring how the theoretical frameworks generated within iconoclasm studies can be applied to the study of later prehistory as a case study, it is possible to demonstrate how similar studies in iconoclasm can be extended to other periods and places. Through the application of theoretical frameworks, viewing prehistory through the *lens* of iconoclasm, it is possible to re-examine moments of change in a way that can be applied to other areas of archaeological investigation.

To address these aims, definitions of iconoclasm used within this book are broad, and centre on the notion of sign transformation, with a focus on processes rather than singular events. This facilitates discussion of the variety of potential values and meanings associated with objects and of how these might have shifted

through acts of ‘breakage’. As *signs*, types of icon explored include objects and built structures, but also the human body, trees, woodland and wider natural and anthropogenic landscape features, but unified through the interpretation of symbolic meaning. In terms of ‘breakage’, a similarly wide range of transformations are considered, from total obliteration to *semioclasm*, or discursive transformation. Equally, agency is not constrained to just human agency, but extends to other forms of natural or interpreted supernatural intervention, and intentionality forms a foundation for interpretation rather than a rationale for determining whether an action can be seen as iconoclastic. It is not the intention of this book to identify specific moments of iconoclasm in later prehistory, but rather to demonstrate how the application of the theoretical and classificatory frameworks that have developed from iconoclasm studies can assist in the interpretation of archaeology.

### About this book

This chapter has provided an overview of how ideas of iconoclasm have been applied to different periods, as well as highlighting recent developments in the theoretical and classificatory frameworks that have emerged from iconoclasm scholarship. This book provides an exploration of these frameworks in relation to prehistory, focusing on the broad period of later prehistory as a case study. Geographically, it focuses on temperate Europe, primarily on Britain and north-western Europe. Whilst examples are drawn from a broad chronological time-frame, the primary focus is on the first millennium BC.

The structure of the book is thematic, drawing upon four topic areas. The first of these focuses on the transformation of objects (Chapter 2), particularly in relation to biographical or ‘life-history’ approaches to artefacts. The second focuses on the human body (Chapter 3), exploring transformations in life, through life, at the time of death and deposition. The exploration of monuments, including both sacred and profane sites forms the third topic area (Chapter 4), which examines ideas of transformation around their construction, their use, their modification and their destruction, in addition to ideas around neglect as a form of iconoclasm. The final topic broadens the discussion to the examination of landscapes (Chapter 5) and the investigation of how they might be transformed through both cultural and natural agencies. The final chapter (Chapter 6) draws together the themes identified within the four different topic areas to re-examine iconoclasm within the context of the study of later prehistory and how the theoretical frameworks that have emerged from iconoclasm studies can be applied to other prehistoric periods and beyond.

### Notes

- 1 Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and by the Arabic acronym Daesh/Daish.
- 2 Cassius Dio, *Historia Augusta: Elagabalus*, 15–18.
- 3 See Brubaker and Haldon (2011, 128–135) for a critique of the evidence surrounding the imagery of the Chalke icon.

- 4 For example, *Exodus* 20:4, *Deuteronomy* 5:8.
- 5 Comprehensive discussions of iconoclasm during and following the French Revolution can be found in the works of Gamboni (1997) and Clay (2012a).
- 6 It is likely that the fragments from the destroyed gallery of kings that were removed from above the door of Notre Dame suffered a similar scatological fate whilst they lay scattered on the pavement (Clay 2012b, 525).
- 7 There is much debate about the impact that placement of objects in museums has on their perceived value (e.g. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998), being far from neutral environments (e.g. Malraux 1967). More extreme views argue that museums and galleries effectively neutralise culture by placing them within a different context (e.g. Adorno 1967, 175–177). With reference to the creation of the Louvre, it has also been noted that the placing of politically sensitive objects within a sanitised museum environment forms the very act of iconoclasm without the destruction (Idzerda 1954, 26).

## 2 Breaking objects

The interpretation of archaeological objects has been considered from a wide range of perspectives, allowing them to be seen as functional items engaged within economic interpretations, to symbolic objects that are representative of factors that extend beyond their immediate practical function (see Hodder and Hutson 2003; Hurcombe 2007). It is reasonable to assume that objects reflect multiple co-existing functions and meanings, that these would have been different to different people and communities in the past, and that these meanings will have shifted through time. Rather than consider whether an object was functional or symbolic, we can focus on the different and shifting notions of meaning and value that were associated with them. In particular, how did such meanings alter at times of transformation?

The changing nature of function, meaning and value associated with objects has been the subject of considerable debate. Michael Schiffer outlined a model for understanding the shifting role and context of artefacts within the archaeological record (Schiffer 1972). Responding to earlier approaches, which had implied that the spatial patterning of archaeological remains reflected that of past activities (e.g. Binford 1964), Schiffer sought to examine how such patterns might have been influenced by human behaviour. The resulting model made the distinction between an object's *systemic context* and *archaeological context*. The first provided an outline of the system of use of the artefact in the past, whilst the latter concerned the object as an archaeological object of study, as refuse. For durable objects, this systemic context encompassed the procurement of raw materials, manufacture of the object and its use, and it was noted that these processes were interjected with processes of manufacture and recycling, but ultimately resulted in discard. Equating such processes with notions of value, Michael Thompson provided a detailed analysis of how the shifting nature of an object can result in shifting levels of significance, particularly within Schiffer's archaeological context whereby factors such as age and rarity can influence the value associated with it (Thompson 1979).

There has been renewed interest in what is termed the biography, or life-history of objects, following from anthropological genealogical approaches (Rivers 1910), asking the same questions of objects that one might ask about people:

What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in [an object's] 'status' and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized 'ages' or periods in the thing's 'life,' and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?

(Kopytoff 1986, 66–67)

Such an approach placed emphasis on the diversity and fluidity of meanings and values that an object might have had in the past. As noted by Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall (1999, 170), such a biographical approach allows for the interpretation of accumulating histories rather than singular ones, such that the "significance of an object derives from the persons and events to which it is connected". The attractiveness of such an approach has resulted in a range of studies applying the idea of life-histories to a variety of different object types and debates about its value (e.g. Holtorf 2002; Burström 2014). Despite this renewed interest, there has been a lack of focus on tying together themes of value with these histories and, importantly, the ways in which meanings and values vary to different members of a community in the past and how these change through time. Furthermore, there has been little regard for moments of intentional destruction or breakage. In part, these apparent limitations of biographical approaches have been addressed through the parallel development of ideas around fragmentation and enchainment. Within his study of the Balkan Neolithic and Chalcolithic, Chapman (1996; 2000; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007) developed the theory that incomplete artefacts, such as pottery and figurines, might be the result of processes including deliberate breakage, dispersal and, often structured, deposition. From this fragmentation of objects (and sometimes people), it was argued that processes of enchainment and accumulation linked people to objects through their production, exchange and consumption, and were therefore fundamental to identity and social relations (see also Brück 2006; Brittain and Harris 2010).

An additional development has been the discussion of agency relating to artefacts. Following from previous discussions of agency and the individual within archaeology more broadly (e.g. Knapp and van Dommelen 2008), it has been argued that objects themselves, and particularly corpora of objects, can have a social influence on populations experiencing, owning and using them (Gosden 2005). It was suggested that the Romanisation of Britain was in part facilitated by the adoption of groups of objects from the Roman Empire; over time, people who embraced new artefact forms were recreated "with new sensibilities and forms of relatedness" (Gosden 2005, 208). Similar effects might be seen with contemporary technological developments such as smart phones, which, once adopted, can appear difficult to live without. In this respect, we can see that objects themselves can have influence beyond the directly practical, engendering varying meanings between those who choose to adopt them and those who do not. Essentially, the



destruction or fragmentation of objects might generate a plurality of meanings that can be difficult to interpret from the archaeological record.

This chapter explores the transformations of objects through different types of breakage and discusses them in relation to the classifications from the iconoclasm literature outlined in the previous chapter as a method for providing an additional foundation for re-interpreting these processes, particularly in relation to different levels of transformation, reversibility, intentionality and meaning. The chapter is structured broadly around the processes outlined by Schiffer (1972), comprising procurement and manufacture, ownership and use, breakage and deposition.

## **Procurement and manufacture of objects**

Every act of creation is first an act of destruction.

(Pablo Picasso<sup>1</sup>)

Who taketh this swerde out of this ston sholde be kynge by the eleccion of Jhesu Criste.

(Robert de Boron; Conlee 1998, 78–79)

The origins of an object, or of the raw materials used in its creation, can hold particular significance. Distant origins can infer meanings, making the finished object rarer, more exotic and, hence, valuable. Equally, materials from one source might just be of a higher quality than those from another source. Both can be seen, for example, in the various discussions relating to the movement of the bluestones from south Wales to Salisbury Plain as part of the development of Stonehenge in the third millennium BC (e.g. Darvill and Wainwright 2002; Parker Pearson 2015). In some cases, exotic materials might be less apparent, such as when incorporated into objects. For example, there are instances where the analysis of the temper used in the manufacture of pottery reveals that it has travelled considerable distances (e.g. Woodward, in Chapman *et al.* 2010, 147). In such cases, it can be challenging to determine whether it was the raw materials that moved or the finished object. If we consider the source material for metalworking, events during the later Bronze Age/Iron Age transition in western Europe provide a useful narrative for understanding the importance of access to raw materials. As Richard Bradley (1988) has noted, there are three important trends that are visible within the archaeological record relating to the first millennium BC. First, through agricultural expansion, there was an increase in the use and variety of bronze tools for everyday tasks leading to a greater need for raw materials. Second, there appears to have been shifts to the already widespread recycling of metals to include objects, such as ornaments and weaponry, which were previously less common from within scrap metal hoards, and this was coupled with an increase in the use of Atlantic ores rather than central European ones. Finally, there appears to have been an increase in the proportion of metal being deposited within votive offerings. Overall, this reflects both a growing need for metal, but also a reduction in the availability of

raw materials. Whilst there are variations in this pattern across Europe, not least due to varying utilitarian and votive practices, it was suggested that, within western Europe, the shortage of raw materials at the time of the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition resulted in conflicting demands in terms of utilitarian uses and votive uses of metal (see also Roberts *et al.* 2015).

The manufacture of an object from raw materials and composite parts implies a transformation from one thing (or many things) to another. Control over the ability to manufacture goods reflects power, the level of which will be dependent on the types of goods and their perceived value by communities. Perhaps one of the strongest levels of this type of control in later prehistory was that over metalwork and, in particular, the manufacture of weapons. Control of this type might be generated by power over craftspeople, or due to the ability to create objects directly. Evidence from a number of West African Iron Age communities demonstrates this strongly with the notion of the ‘smith-king’ (Helms 1988). The Arthurian legend whereby the ability to draw the sword from the stone makes one eligible to be king (Conlee 1998) can be seen in this context as a metaphor for the control of the production of metalwork. Melanie Giles (2012, 232) has explored the theme of the importance of metalworkers, making parallels between the life-giving processes of agriculture and those of metallurgy, highlighting the linkages with notions of creation and associated fertility rights. Such potential status attributed to metalworkers might increase for some because a specific manufacturer or workshop might be considered able to produce higher quality objects than another, and hence knowledge of the creator will have an influence on the perceived value of the finished object over considerable time. Here we might see significance in the addition of what have been interpreted as makers’ marks on a small number of objects (e.g. Wyss 1956).

Whilst the process of manufacture engenders the transformation of one object (e.g. raw materials) to another (the finished object), there are numerous other, more subtle transformations that take place, which themselves would have been imbued with varying meanings and values. For example, there is a value judgement in selecting one raw material over another and once selected, even before the physical process has begun, it might well be considered as different. In the case of metalworking, this would vary depending on whether smelting was being undertaken with the intention to create a specific object or whether the aim was to create ingots. For bronze objects, we might also appreciate the potential for different meanings between a casting prior to the removal of flashings, and the completion of processes such as cold working and hafting. For iron, similar differences can be identified through the processes of forging. Through these processes, there is a conceptual moment when an object is considered finished and hence transformed.

The recycling of metal from scrap presents an additional context for interpreting transformations relating to meaning and value. It is possible that finished objects incorporated elements, having been remade or re-forged from earlier objects, which might have held significance themselves, and this significance would have been incorporated into the new object. This was indicated by the analysis of the component parts of a mirror from Portesham in Dorset dating to the

first century BC (Joy 2009). Here, the bronze used for the plate and handle were from different sources, and probably recycled, indicating a wide range of parent materials, which themselves, reflected different series of social relationships. Similar patterns of re-use are seen in occurrences of ground-up ceramic material incorporated as grog into new pots, and it has been suggested that the fabric of the parent pot might hold greater value than its form or decoration (Woodward 2002, 1041–1042). Similar significance might also be presented by the inclusion of the fragmented remains of ancestors through the inclusion of calcined bone temper within pottery (*ibid.*, 1042).

As with raw materials, the movement of finished objects might have provided additional value to any particular object through notions of rarity and exoticness. Such notions have underlain the numerous interpretations of objects such as the Gundestrup cauldron, found in northern Denmark, which portrayed symbolism with an apparent Balkan influence (e.g. Bergquist and Taylor 1987). Equally, we might see transformations of meaning and value precipitated by the incorporation (or development) of new types of objects or new styles. Perhaps such developments can be seen through the adoption of La Tène art styles (see Garrow *et al.* [2009] for an assessment of the chronologies for the development of Celtic art).

### **Ownership and use**

Although ideas relating to property are themselves fluid (cf. Proudhon 2007), objects can present potent symbols relating to an individual's status based on its perceived value. Valuable items might be defined by the complexity of their production or by their exotic raw materials, and such items are more likely to have experienced longer periods of use compared with others. However, the owner or user of an object might, through association, project certain values onto the object when seen by other members of the community. Use of objects can be determined sometimes from physical alterations made to it and episodes of mending. This is perhaps most obvious in the cases of weaponry, although more work has been undertaken relating to the Bronze Age compared with the Iron Age due to the poorer survival of iron objects. Examples of Bronze Age swords have been found with both battle damage to the blade and with evidence for re-sharpening, particularly just below the hilt, ultimately leading to the weakening of swords and the subsequent development of the ricasso (Kristiansen 2002). These themes of both use and mending might be expected for the Iron Age.

The mending of objects in later prehistory is well evidenced across a wide variety of objects such as the Kirkburn sword scabbard from East Yorkshire, which was repaired on numerous occasions. The two main plates forming the scabbard were repaired using strips of metal riveted to both parts, and additional strips were riveted to the inside of the scabbard in multiple locations where the front plate had split (Stead 1991a, 68). It has been suggested that the number of repairs indicated that the sword remained in use for a relatively long time, and that this bears similarities with evidence for the maintenance of horse-fittings and even vehicles such as chariots (Giles 2008, 61). The maintenance and repair of objects and vehicles

is well known for earlier periods, such as of boats (e.g. Wright and Wright 1947), and it is likely that such processes drew together features of both ritualised and practical behaviour (Chapman and Gearey 2004).

The use and longevity of objects are entangled with notions of identity and shifting social relationships, providing additional meanings to objects through their associations with acts and affiliations. Hence, the meanings and values interpreted from objects exist well beyond those of their physical materials or quality of manufacture. The use of an object, either in the recent or historical past, alters how it is understood in the present. In addition to factors such as rarity, uniqueness can be defined on the basis of the object's experience. This is clear in recent history through the perceived importance of relics, valued due to their association with particular individuals in the past, but an object's status might change due to its use in other ways. A weapon's status might change when it has been successful in conflict or used within a particular ceremony, as seen with the swords used for state functions historically in France (*Joyeuse*) and currently in the UK for the coronation of monarchs (*Curtana* – the sword of mercy). Each of these swords has their own history and mythology, the former likely to be composed of parts from a number of different swords. In these instances, the sword itself reflects greater meaning and iconic value that is indicated by its physical qualities alone. Hence, it is clear that an object can reach an elevated status through the way it is used.

Associations with particular events such as battles or religious ceremonies, coupled with the collective memory of such events, will create increased status for an object. There are indications of such increased status for later periods such as through the descriptive naming of weapons (see Kristiansen 2002; Pearce 2013). From the evidence of successive re-sharpening of Bronze Age swords until the blades were completely transformed, it has been suggested that “they were kept in use until this very last moment, due to their close relationship with the warrior and due to their history and power” (Kristiansen 2002, 331). Equally, negative associations such as defeat might result in a reduction of status, perhaps leading to perceptions of the object becoming culturally dangerous. Objects might also attract perceived value through their age (cf. Thompson 1979), which might be increased through the act of gift giving or by the passing down of objects to successive generations as heirlooms. This has been suggested for weapons such as swords with heavily worn hilts (Kristiansen 2002, 330), but also for other objects. As noted by Arjun Appadurai (1986), an object can become valuable through sequences of exchange and overt display within the social environment. Within the context of theories of fragmentation (Chapman 2000), it has been argued that some broken and abraded pottery sherds or single beads might also reflect heirlooms or even relics, citing examples where such fragments have been deliberately deposited with other objects of more tangible value or where they have been adapted, such as through secondary perforations made to facilitate them being worn (Woodward 2002). Hence, reuse can result in a separation between the intended function of an object prior to fragmentation and its later role as heirloom, relic or even souvenir. Whilst material transformation can be either slight

or dramatic, the transformation of meaning can be significant. In some cases, use will result in physical changes that are identifiable from material remains, the meanings associated with ownership and use can be harder to determine whilst potentially being more significant. Such shifts that alter the status of objects present powerful indications of what they might represent and hence what might be transformed when particular objects are subsequently broken, destroyed or physically altered.

## **Breaking objects**

[A]nd destruction after all is a form of creation.

(Graham Greene 1992, 15)<sup>2</sup>


There are many different ways in which an object can break and, within archaeology, it is frequently the case that archaeologists are dealing with broken objects. Determining the circumstances of breakage can be an essential aspect of interpretation, such as whether an object broke due to the conditions of its burial, through the object's recovery or due to accidental or intentional breakage in antiquity. Whilst recent breakage is normally easily identifiable, evidence for breakage in antiquity can be more problematic. Sometimes it will lie in what is missing, where there remain too few fragments to constitute the original form of the object. Objects made from different materials offer different levels of fragility as well as varying affordances in terms of repairing and recycling. Some materials, such as ceramics, are more prone to breakage than others and are less easily repaired. Whilst it is possible that the fabric of a pot can be broken down to be re-used as grog in the construction of a new vessel, such recycling will not have significantly reduced the number of sherds found on archaeological sites. In contrast, metals can be more readily repaired and recycled, through recasting or re-forging. Alternatively, as demonstrated by the serious crack on the back of one of the terminals of the Sedgeford Torc from Norfolk, other forms of repair might include the skilful use of rivets (Brailsford 1971). Where metals are not recast or repaired, the existence of the fragmented remains of objects provides avenues for exploring intentionality. In some instances, their survival as fragments might be merely due to them being stored and never recovered, whilst in others, the fact that fragments enter the archaeological record reflects direct intentionality. If a recyclable metal object is broken, what are the motivations behind its discard rather than its reuse?

The material breakage of objects can occur for a range of reasons and reflect different levels of intentionality, from accidental to deliberate acts of destruction. Objects might break in the course of their functional use, either in a dramatic moment of failure, or through longer-term processes of wear and tear. In some instances, such breakage might reflect weaknesses in the object, perhaps through casting errors in the manufacture of metal artefacts. Deliberate breakage of objects might also occur, such as the destruction and deposition of amphorae on late Iron Age sites across Europe (e.g. Poux 1997, 2004). Acts of deliberate

breakage can be associated with processes of decommissioning or ceremonial ritualised *killing*. The ways in which objects break can involve burning, smashing, bending or dismantling, but might also include processes that do not materially alter the object itself. As noted in the previous chapter, this might also include changes to the meaning of an object or its perceived value, or might include moving it to a different context or concealing it. A classification of different types of object breakage within the context of iconoclasm was developed by Rambelli and Reinders (2012, 181), which relates different levels of destruction to notions of physical reversibility (see Table 2.1). Although the affordances of different materials provide differing potentials for reversibility, this provides a useful framework for defining different types of damage. At one end of the scale, destruction might be complete, whereas at the other end, the materiality of the object remains unchanged although its meaning might be altered, such as through changes in artistic style or fashion. Archaeologically, some levels of alteration are easier to identify than others, whilst processes such as concealing or hiding an object are more easily interpreted in relation to their burial context.

It is challenging to identify objects that have been destroyed ‘with altered residue’. We might include the process of recasting within this category, as with the handle of the Portesham mirror (Joy 2009), although what the object was that was melted down is unknowable, as is the meaning that this act of incorporation might have projected. The recycling of objects in this way might also lead to changes in the physical characteristics of the metal, such as through an unusually high content of tin in a bronze object making the metal softer (Roberts *et al.* 2015). As indicated by hoards of scrap metal, the potential for comprehensive transformations of objects by breaking and subsequent remaking is tangible, though difficult to demonstrate archaeologically. However, evidence for identifiable destruction is much more readily available for analysis. Hence, building on the adapted classification presented in Table 2.1, the following section first explores ‘smashing, snapping and stabbing’ of objects as processes that prevent their continued functional use. It then examines the potentially reversible processes of ‘bending and buckling’ before exploring the yet more reversible ‘dismantling’ of objects. Aspects relating to burial context are presented later in this chapter.

*Table 2.1* Different levels of destruction of objects in relation to physical reversibility (modified following the principles outlined by Rambelli and Reinders 2012, 181)

Irreversible loss of physical integrity of the object	Destruction with altered residue (e.g. ash)
	Smashing, snapping and stabbing
	Bending and buckling
	Dismantling
	Humiliation: abuse, insult, demotion
	Hiding: burial, disguise, alteration
More reversible	Negative cultural redefinition (discursive transformation)

### Smashing, snapping and stabbing

Some acts of breakage are so dramatic that they prevent the functional use of an object whilst also restricting the potential for damage to be repaired or reversed in any way (Figure 2.1). In some contexts, irreversibility caused by breakage might have parallels with notions of gift giving. Irreversibility of an action can be seen as paralleling the ideas associated with ritual sacrifice whereby a votive offering can be understood in part by the inability to retrieve it (van Gennep 2011). Similarly, the destruction of an object enhances the perceived value of similar objects by restricted circulation (Gregory 1980). In both cases, it is not just the material form of the object that is attacked, but also what it symbolises. Through its material breakage, the object's meanings and values are also transformed.

The stone head from Mšecké Žehrovice in Bohemia (Figure 2.2) provides a clear example of a broken object. The remains of the head were discovered in 1943 just outside the south-western corner of a square ditched enclosure in a pit approximately 80×90cm, along with perforated pottery sherds, burned animal bones, unfinished pieces of shale rings, a whetstone and a piece of iron wire. The remains of the head consist of four pieces, which, together, do not assemble to form a complete object although, despite searches, the missing fifth element was

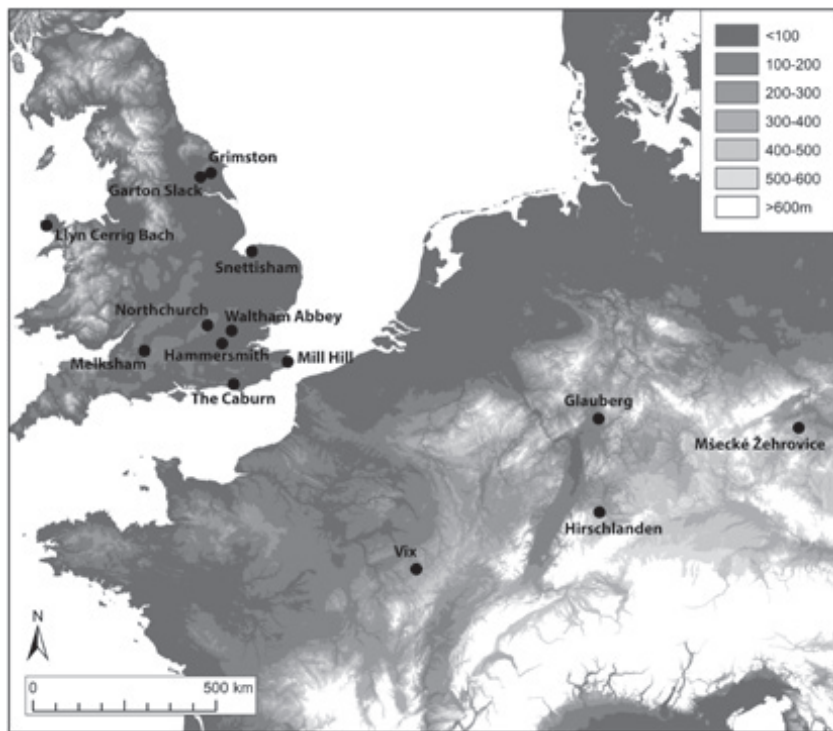


Figure 2.1 Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to the smashing, snapping or stabbing of objects.



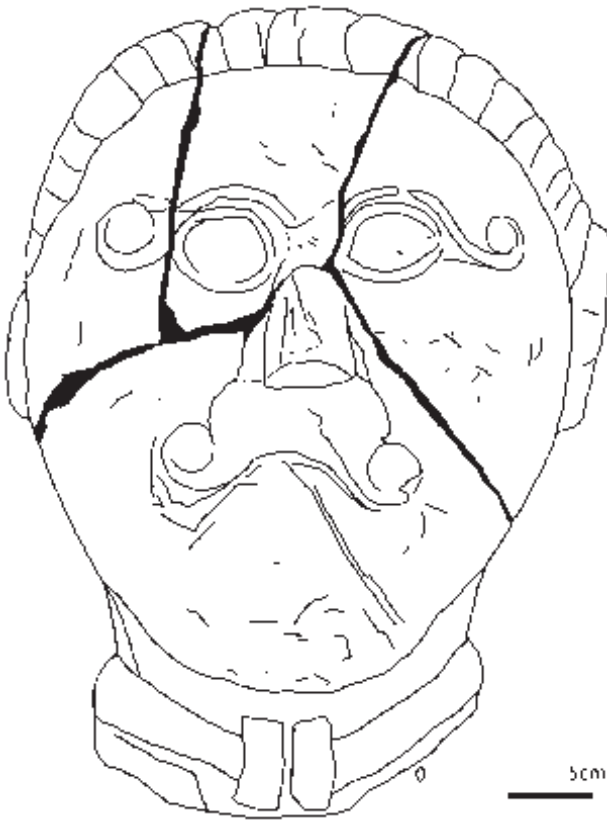


Figure 2.2 The four surviving fragments of the broken stone head from Mšecké Žehrovice. The fifth fragment was never found.

never discovered (Megaw and Megaw 1988). Whilst it is possible that the breakage to the object occurred whilst removing it from its original setting, its burial context indicates a degree of deliberate deposition making it more likely that the damage was also deliberate, with the remaining piece(s) retained for a different purpose; an interpretation supported by the presence of the adjacent sanctuary feature (Venclová 1989). The breakages to the head were distinctive. The largest piece reflected the lower part of the head, including the mouth and moustache, broken laterally across the object. The upper part of the head was broken into three pieces vertically. The missing piece(s) would originally have formed the upper right side of the depicted individual's head, including its right ear. The context of deposition has led to interpretations of ritual sacrifice (Megaw and Megaw 1988, 639) or broader religious activity due to the proximity to a temple structure (Venclová 1989, 146). The date of the head remains subject to debate, although it has been suggested that it could have been crafted as early as 250 BC, with its deposition, associated with the nearby temple site, as late as the mid-first



century BC (*ibid.*). Whether the head broke when it was dismantled from a pillar or other structure, or whether it was smashed directly, it seems most likely that the destruction of this object was deliberate and associated with the specific deposition of fragmentary objects and burned animal bone. It is possible that this object, as well as the perforated pottery, had held significance within the community for a considerable time before being broken and deposited within its pit outside the edge of the enclosure. Hence, breakage is likely to have been a significant factor in the use of the object. Such an act of breakage is made more significant within the context of the object's longevity of use prior to destruction and burial, in addition to the individual that it represents, whether a god (cf. Megaw and Megaw 1988) or a druid (Venclová 2002). Hence, in the act of breakage, the significance of the stone head is likely to have reflected far more than the workmanship applied to its construction. As a representation of either deity or person of significance, the head was probably known to, and used by, the community for multiple generations, providing increased status of the object over time. Even within the strictest definitions, it is easy to consider this object as an icon and hence its destruction as a form of iconoclasm although, given the structured nature of its deposition, the object remained powerful.

In addition to the stone head from Mšecké Žehrovice, Vincent Megaw (2003) noted other, earlier, examples of later prehistoric sculptures that had experienced deliberate destruction. The mid-first millennium BC Hallstatt period sandstone statue from Hirschlanden in Baden-Württemberg, Germany, was found almost complete other than his feet. The lower legs were also broken off, but found nearby. The interpretation of this breakage was that it had broken off at its weakest point (the ankles) and rolled down the mound, breaking again at the knees when it hit the stone kerb (Zürn 1964, 224). Similarly, the sandstone statue from Glauberg in Hesse, Germany, was found near complete other than his feet, although the fragments of three other, incomplete statues were also found within the terminal ring ditch of the barrow. The last example, Megaw noted, was the more fragmentary limestone seated figure with a shield found at the sanctuary of Herbues at Vix in Côte d'Or, France. It was argued that the lack of evidence from any of these sites of local destruction indicated that it is unlikely that breakage was associated with local power shifts or military conquest. Rather, the destruction of these statues and sculptures might represent a response to the representation of the human figure during the earlier La Tène phase as being a taboo, with their destruction and concealment from public gaze through burial, preserving them as ancestral figures (Megaw 2003, 68).

The iconographic nature of the stone head from Mšecké Žehrovice and the statues from Hirschlanden, Glauberg and Vix means that their breakage is readily interpretable within iconoclasm discourse. During the same period, other objects are frequently discovered deliberately smashed, snapped or fragmented deliberately prior to deposition. The excavation of the Deal Warrior at Mill Hill in Deal, Kent, in 1988 revealed the apparent deliberate destruction of a shield laid on top of the inhumation within the grave dating to between 250 BC and 150 BC (Parfitt

1995, 20). Whilst the organic parts of the shield had decayed prior to excavation, the arrangement of the bindings provided a strong indication that it was placed in the grave after having been broken and folded in half longitudinally. This was especially apparent at the foot of the grave where the two corner binds from each side of the shield were found with one on top of the other. Assuming that the breaking of the shield took place on the graveside as part of the ceremony of burial, it has been noted that this act would have “punctured the funeral with noise, energy and spectacle, dramaturgical effects which may have been designed to expel or ward off evil” (Giles 2015, 543).

In addition to smashing and breaking, objects can also be damaged by stabbing, as demonstrated by one of three harness discs, or phalerae, discovered within a group of sixth or seventh century BC objects retrieved from the River Avon at Melksham in Wiltshire. This object, measuring 16cm in diameter, had been stabbed with one or more spears ten times prior to its deposition (Wiltshire Museum Devizes, Accession Number DZSWS: 1981.153.3). The extent of damage over such a small area indicates that the level of destruction was intentional and targeted rather than being a consequence of battle, although it cannot be known whether the object was mounted when it was attacked. Described by the Museum as a ‘ritual’ spearing, it is not certain whether the object was attacked as part of the depositional ritual or within a different context. However, there is no sign of any attempt to repair the object and so it seems more likely that the damage occurred as part of such a ritual at the time of deposition. If this was the case, then perhaps it has more in common with interpreted actions of spearing the corpse at the time of burial. For example, at Garton Slack on the Yorkshire Wolds, UK, a number of adult men with associated weapons appear to have had iron and bone-tipped spearheads thrust into the grave, splintering shields and stabbing into the bodies underneath (Stead 1991a, 33; Giles 2012, 1–2, 2015, 543). Similarly, at nearby Grimthorpe, sixteen bone-tipped spearheads were found under, above and along the length of the corpse (Mortimer 1905, 151; Giles 2015, 543). These events have been interpreted as effectively staking down the bodies to stop the ghost of the deceased from rising from the grave (Aldhouse Green 2001, 35; cf. Giles 2015, 544). It was also noted that, if the shafts of the spears remained intact, then these would have protruded from the burial mound following backfilling. The two practices of spearing the phalerae and spearing the corpses as part of ritual killing share certain similarities. Interpretations of the latter centre on the drama/performance of ritual and the act of killing the metaphysical version of the person, and it is likely that the attacks to the phalerae reflected something similar. Hence, the object becomes more than merely its physical, functional presence, and obtains additional meanings and values that can become threatening and therefore need to be ritually constrained.

Three unfinished but bent and broken gold torcs at Alrewas in Staffordshire discovered by metal detectorists in 1996 provide a slightly different example of the deliberate breakage of prestigious items (Buteux and Chapman 2009, 122–124). Dating to the later second or early first century BC, it is possible that these fragmented items were being reserved for later re-modelling, but the level of

breakage, in addition to the three being tied together using a gold ring, indicates something more deliberate and dedicational. Similar levels of deliberate damage to torcs have been identified for some of the examples from the late Iron Age hoard from Snettisham in Norfolk (Fitzpatrick 1992). As with the examples from Alrewas, the association between broken objects and unfinished examples does raise the possibility that these were deposited as scrap metal with the intention of recycling (e.g. Stead 1991b), but factors including their careful interlinking and destruction make them equally if not more likely to be associated with votive practice (Fitzpatrick 1992).

In a study of Bronze Age metalwork from the Thames, Jill York identified a rising trend in the level of broken objects through time (York 2002). Deliberate destruction was identified as being probable in the cases of objects being chopped across, struck in a way that would not occur in normal use, bent to breaking point or burnt and distorted. The evidence from swords was particularly noteworthy, with 59 per cent having been destroyed. In the later part of the middle Bronze Age, 39 per cent of swords were destroyed, compared with up to 74 per cent of swords being deliberately broken during the Ewart Park phase of the later Bronze Age. Similar, though less dramatic, trends were identified for other object types such as spears. In addition to the apparently increasing prevalence of purposeful destruction of these objects during the first half of the first millennium BC, the methods of destruction indicate some complexity. At the simplest level, the tips of swords were snapped off, presumably by wedging the point and using the sword as a lever. Others were apparently chopped using another object to achieve clean cuts and, in some cases, reducing the sword to numerous pieces. However, in some instances where a sword was bent to the point of snapping, it is likely that this was done through the application of heat, perhaps indicative of a level of artisan expertise in order to achieve the desired result. Given the high number of deliberately broken bronze swords and other objects dating from this period (e.g. Coombs 1992), it seems likely that more might be learned about the complexities of the acts of breakage and hence the numbers of people who might have been involved in such acts. Although the preservation of iron swords is more problematic, numerous instances of breakage have been identified, as evidenced by the examples from The Caburn in Sussex, Waltham Abbey in Essex, Hammersmith in London, Northchurch in Hertfordshire and Llyn Cerrig Bach on Anglesey, the latter two both broken whilst in their scabbards (Stead 2006, 51–52). It is notable that most of these revealed bends in their profiles indicating that this was the method through which they were snapped, although fewer examples, such as that from The Caburn, revealed no such bending. Given that an even higher number of Iron Age swords were dramatically bent rather than snapped, it does suggest that either the properties of the metal of these objects was more brittle, or that other processes such as heating were applied in order to achieve the desired result. If, as has been suggested for earlier swords, such applications were required, it raises questions about the timescale over which breakage could have occurred, as well as the potential different locations and different individuals involved.

### Bending and buckling (potentially reversible)

In the majority of cases, deliberate attacks to objects prior to their deposition do not result in such high levels of physical breakage and hence the potential for the reversal of the material damage caused is greater (Figure 2.3). In the case of metalwork, it is more common to find objects bent, sometimes dramatically, rather than snapped or smashed. In 1980, an inhumation burial was discovered on Acklam Wold in East Yorkshire associated with a sword and an antler toggle (Dent 1983). Examination of the individual revealed that he died violently, but also that he suffered from pulmonary disease during his life. Two probable sword wounds were identified on his skull, although it has been noted that these were not directly fatal and that the killing blow was most probably a flesh wound that left no forensic traces on the skeleton (King 2010). Most strikingly, however, was that the sword buried with the individual had been “dramatically bent to an acute angle of  $150^\circ$ ” (Giles 2015, 542). Furthermore, there was the indication from mineralised wood impression on the blade that the sword had been inside a wooden scabbard at the time of bending (Dent 1983, 122).

Although unique for northern England in terms of its burial context within an inhumation grave, the example from Acklam Wold is far less unusual in terms

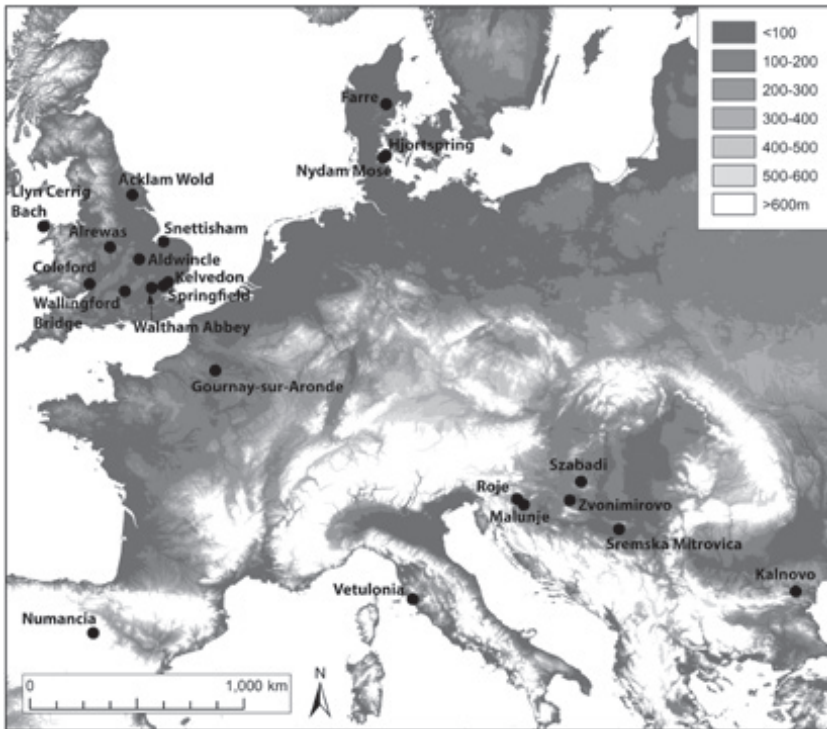
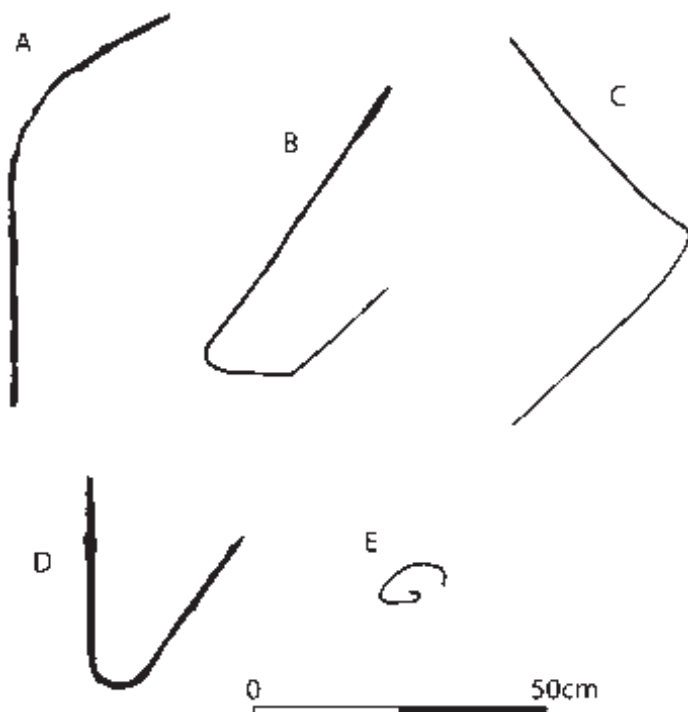


Figure 2.3 Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to the bending or buckling of objects.

of the treatment it suffered prior to deposition. Other examples of bent swords include one from Coleford in Gloucestershire, which was possibly bent twice, another from Kelvedon in Essex, which was found within a grave context along with a bent spearhead and one from Springfield, also in Essex (Figure 2.4). Such damage is easier to ascertain when found within grave contexts because taphonomic processes and damage during recovery, such as river dredging, are less likely to have occurred. Despite this, likely examples of bent swords are from rivers and wet contexts, such as the example from Wallingford Bridge in Oxfordshire, which was both bent and twisted, including a sharp  $150^\circ$  bend near the top of the blade. Two swords from Llyn Cerrig Bach on Anglesey showed signs of bending, with one having been bent and twisted. A short sword found in the River Thames in London was bent in an arc, with more dramatic bending near the tip, and the example from Aldwinckle in Northamptonshire was bent to a right angle whilst still in its wooden scabbard (Stead 2006, 51–52).

Other similar cases of swords that have been dramatically bent within their wooden scabbards are known from across Europe. La Tène graves containing bent swords within their scabbards have been found at Malunje and



*Figure 2.4* Various levels of bending experienced by Iron Age swords. A: Kelvedon (Essex), B: Coleford (Gloucestershire), C: Aldwinckle (Northamptonshire), D: Acklam (North Yorkshire) and E: Springfield (Essex). Based upon Stead (2006, figures 63, 79, 82, 84 and 95).

Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje (grave LT4) in central Croatia (Dizdar 2011, 74, 81). Similar examples include those from Kalново in Bulgaria, which was bent into a spiral (Warrior Burial No. 1; Megaw 2004), Roje in Slovenia, which was bent into an S-shape (Gaspari *et al.* 2014), a double warrior burial (grave #11) from Szabadi in Hungary (Horváth and Németh 2011), a sword from a La Tène grave at Farre in Denmark (Figure 2.5) and numerous swords from the sanctuary at Gournay-sur-Aronde in the Compeigne region of northern France (Lejars 1994, 232–233). Bent swords have also been discovered within wetland depositional contexts, such as within the hoards from Llyn Cerrig Bach on Anglesey (Fox 1947; Lynch 1970), Nydam Mose (Engelhardt 1866, 76 and Appendix VII) and Hjortspring (Randsborg 1995, 29), both from Denmark.

As with broken swords, interpretations of bent swords have centred on the notion of ritual killing of the object prior to deposition (e.g. Dent 1983). In part, the interpretation of the intentionality behind bending relies on an interpretation of whose sword it was. In the case of the inhumation from Acklam Wold, it has been noted that the individual might have owned the sword or, alternatively, it might have been the sword that killed him and was thus decommissioned, or that it was damaged beyond use to avoid it playing a role in further feuds (Giles 2012, 170). However, whilst it might be possible to straighten a bent sword, to reverse the damage, the presence of wooden scabbards presents more of a challenge. The bending of the scabbard would have resulted in the wood snapping and splintering to the extent that such damage would be largely irreversible. Furthermore, this would mean that it would subsequently become impossible to draw the sword from a bent and broken scabbard. Within the context of the performance of burial, it has been argued that such an act would have been both dramatic to behold and might have required specialist knowledge to undertake, particularly given that the bending did not result in the sword snapping (Giles 2012, 170, 2015, 542).



Figure 2.5 Bent sword from a La Tène grave at Farre in Denmark. Photograph by John Lee.  
Source: The National Museum of Denmark.

There has been some debate over the discovery of bent later prehistoric swords, caused in part by Classical authors. For example, Plutarch noted the poor quality of Celtic swords that resulted in them bending in battle in the fourth century BC.

But the Romans thrust their javelins into their faces, received their strokes on the parts that were shielded by iron, and so turned the edge of their metal, which was soft and weakly tempered, so much so that their swords quickly bent up double, while their shields were pierced and weighed down by the javelins which stuck in them. They actually abandoned their own weapons and tried to possess themselves of those of their enemies, and to turn aside the javelins by grasping them in their hands.

(Plutarch, *Life of Marcus Furius Camillus* 41; trans. Perrin 1914, 201)

Similarly, writing of the Battle of Telamon in 224 BC, Polybius noted:

[The Romans] had learned from former engagements that Gallic tribes were always most formidable at the first onslaught, before their courage was at all damped by a check; and that the swords with which they were furnished ... could only give one downward cut with any effect, but that after this the edges got so turned and the blade so bent, that unless they had time to straighten them with their foot against the ground, they could not deliver a second blow.

(Polybius, *Histories* 2.33; trans. Shuckburgh 2012, 129)

These references refer to the inferior qualities of either the raw materials or the smithying of Celtic swords, although it is possible that such references reflect a degree of propaganda. The development of methods used for the hardening of iron, including carburisation and quenching, took time. Without appropriate treatment, iron is not as hard as cold-worked bronze (Lang and Williams 1975).

The bending and buckling of weapons in later prehistory was not restricted to swords. In particular, there are frequent examples of bent spears from across Europe. Dramatically bent Iron Age spearheads have been discovered at a range of sites including from the Scordisci warrior burial at Sremska Mitrovica in Serbia (Tapavički-Ilić and Filipović 2012), a burial in Malunje in central Croatia (Dizdar 2011, 77). Similarly, such practices of spearhead bending are known from across Iberia, such as within the high-status Iron Age graves in Numancia in northern Spain (Martínez 1999, 5–18). However, weapons are not the only objects that are found bent. Bent tools are known from hoards such as that from Waltham Abbey, Essex (Manning 1972, 231), and bent torcs have been found at sites including Snettisham (Stead 1991b; Fitzpatrick 1992) and Alrewas (Buteux and Chapman 2009, 122–124). The distinction between bent objects and broken objects can become less than clear, however. Evidence of helmets that have been stamped on, such as those from the Etruscan site of Vetulonia in Italy (Naturhistorisches Museum Wien), present a level of buckling, which, in some cases, would have been extremely difficult to reverse. The same might be said for many of the bent swords and certainly for any wooden scabbards, such as that from Acklam Wold,



which would have shattered. Even if it was possible to re-straighten the bent sword, it would have been impossible to repair the scabbard. Furthermore, the reversibility of actions would have been in part dependent on the context of burial and how retrievable they subsequently were.

## Dismantling

Defining how reversible an act of breakage was is problematic and, for metal objects at least, it is possible to re-make something through heating and either re-casting or re-forging. Even in the case of ceramics, the material can be re-modelled into other objects, either through the inclusion of ground up grog, or through the creation of new objects. Nevertheless, in these cases, the integrity of the original is destroyed. In contrast, there are instances where the act of breakage can be seen as more directly reversible, perhaps most obviously in the case of composite objects that can be dismantled and reduced to their constituent parts in a way that they might be reconstructed, perhaps through specialist skills, to re-create the original once again. Dismantling can be seen as a type of temporary destruction that might even be linked to processes of renewal, to avoid destruction by enemies (Rambelli and Reinders 2012, 182), or as an act of symbolically killing the object.

One of the most dramatically dismantled objects repeatedly found in specific areas of Europe are the remains of carts or chariots associated with later prehistoric graves. Shared characteristics of these burials, including the use of square-ditched barrows and the association of carts/chariots, has led to theories regarding cultural links between the areas such as East Yorkshire and northern France (see Stead 1979; Cunliffe 2005). Despite overall similarities in tradition, the different examples display highly variable levels of dismantling and breakage prior to internment, mirroring different potentialities for the reversal of these acts, such as through reconstructing or mending. In some cases, the vehicles were not dismantled and appear to have been placed in the grave as complete objects. The examples of cart/chariot burials from the UK (Figure 2.6; Table 2.2) fall into two principal categories on the basis of whether or not they were dismantled prior to burial. The evidence for intact carts/chariots centres on whether the wheels or other parts were separate from the rest of the frame of the vehicle, and hence, primarily on whether the wheels were buried upright within bespoke slots or positioned separately within the grave cutting (Figure 2.7). The apparently intact examples include those from Cawthorn Camps (Mortimer 1905, 361) and Hunmanby (Sheppard 1907) in East Yorkshire, Pexton Moor (Stead 1959) in North Yorkshire, Ferry Fryston (Boyle *et al.* 2007) in West Yorkshire and Newbridge (Carter and Hunter 2003; Carter *et al.* 2010) near Edinburgh in southern Scotland.

The dismantling of carts/chariots as part of the funerary process can be seen as a different tradition compared with the inclusion of complete vehicles. Rather than cutting slots to facilitate the wheels to remain attached to the axles, the process involved a different type of effort and expertise that focused on taking the vehicles apart prior to placing them within the grave. Within this tradition, the



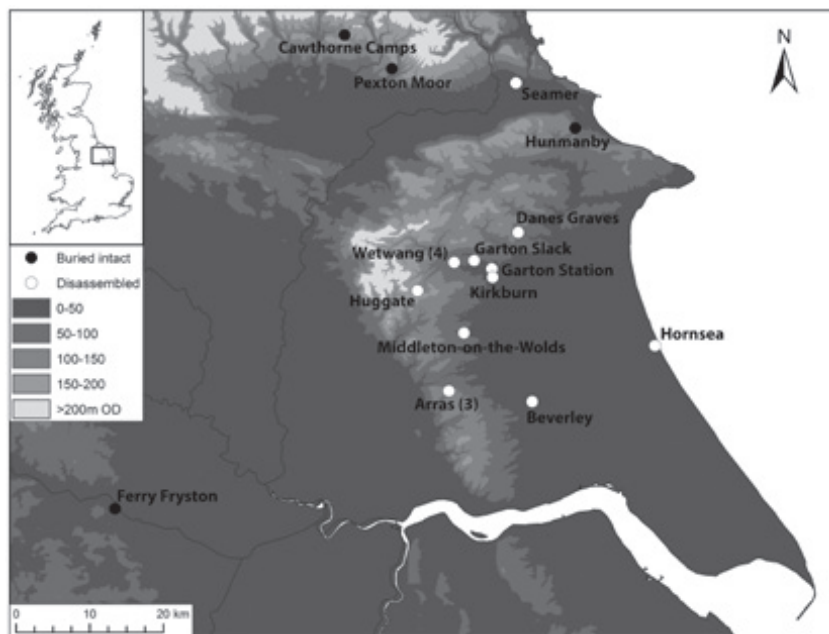


Figure 2.6 Locations of cart/chariot burials from north-eastern England.

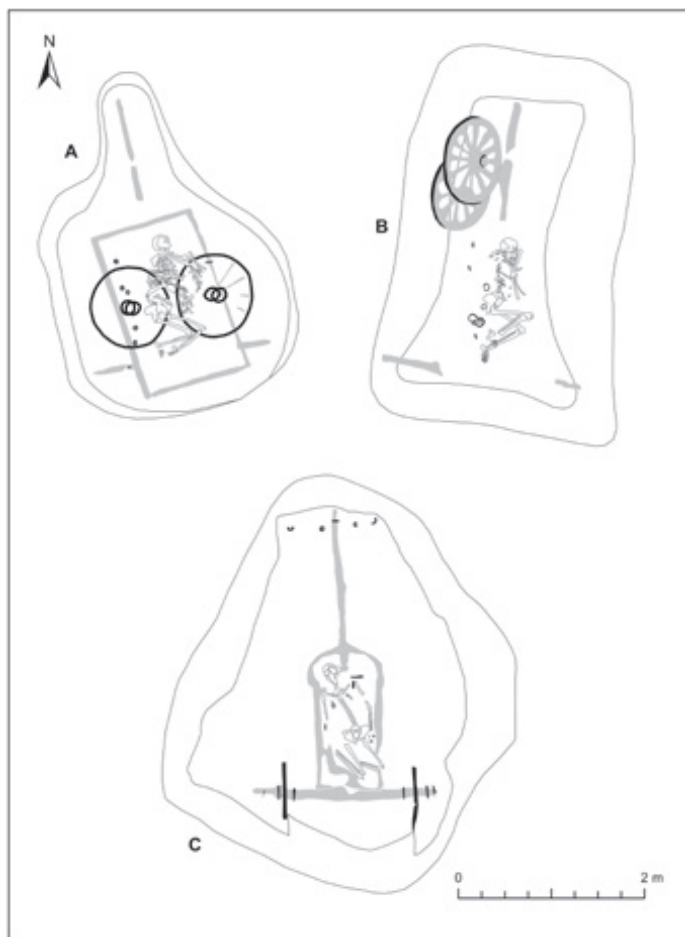
majority of vehicles were dismantled and positioned following a repeated pattern with surprising regularity (Dent 1985). The three from Wetwang Slack (Burial 1: WS453, Burial 2 [Figure 2.7A]: WS454 and Burial 3: WS455) all followed the same approach. The two wheels from each of the carts/chariots were removed and laid flat on the base of the grave (broadly east-west) separate from one another and beneath the body. In each case, the axle (identified, as with other organic remains, by soil differences) was laid across the grave (east-west) at the foot of the body. In the case of Burial 2, this appears to have resulted in a slightly awkward arrangement of the legs. Whilst both Burial 1 and Burial 3 had been truncated on their northern sides, the evidence from Burial 2 revealed the position of the central pole extending to the north from the inhumation, placed within a specially cut slot. In each case, the position of the yoke of the vehicle was identified from regularly spaced terret rings that were aligned broadly north-south on the western side of the body. For Burials 2 and 3, this lay behind and parallel to the bodies, which were laid in flexed positions on their left sides. For Burial 1, the yoke was laid in front of the body, which was laid on its right side. Surrounding each of the three bodies, and their associated artefacts, a rectangular ‘box’ was identified as a soil mark that was also seen in layers above the body. This was interpreted as the superstructure of the vehicles. Importantly, where the evidence of the central pole survived in Burial 2, its alignment was slightly different to those of the axle and ‘box’ demonstrating that it could not have been fastened to the chassis at the

Table 2.2 Intact and dismantled cart/chariot burials from the UK

<i>Site</i>	<i>Discovery/ excavation</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>References</i>
<i>Intact vehicles</i>				
Cawthorne Camps	1849	East Yorkshire		Mortimer 1905, 361
Hunmanby	1907	East Yorkshire		Sheppard 1907
Pexton Moor	1911 and 1935	North Yorkshire		Stead 1959, 1979
Newbridge	2001	Lothian	No bone preserved	Carter and Hunter 2003; Carter <i>et al.</i> 2010
Ferry Fryston (2230)	2003	West Yorkshire		Boyle <i>et al.</i> 2007
<i>Dismantled vehicles</i>				
Arras (A1: The King's Barrow)	1815–1817	East Yorkshire		Stead 1979
Arras (A2 The Charioteer's Barrow)	1815–1817	East Yorkshire		Stead 1979
Arras (A3: The Lady's Barrow)	1815–1817	East Yorkshire		Stead 1979
Beverley	1875		No bone preserved	Greenwell 1877, 1906
Danes Graves (43)	1897		Two bodies	Mortimer 1897
Garton Slack (GS XI Barrow 2)	1970	East Yorkshire	Male	Brewster 1971
Wetwang Slack (WS453, Burial 1)	1984	East Yorkshire	Male	Dent 1985
Wetwang Slack (WS454, Burial 2)	1984	East Yorkshire	Female	Dent 1985
Wetwang Slack (WS455, Burial 3)	1984	East Yorkshire	Male	Dent 1985
Garton Station (GS6)	1986	East Yorkshire	Male	Stead 1991a
Kirkburn (K5)	1987	East Yorkshire	Male	Stead 1991a
Wetwang Village (WE01)	2001	East Yorkshire	Female	Hill 2002

time of burial. The dismantling of the vehicles was also echoed in the breakage of some of the grave goods associated with the bodies. For example, with Burial 1, the positions of seven iron spear heads indicated that “their shafts must have been broken before they were put in to the grave” (Dent 1985, 88) because there would not have been room in the grave cut for them to have been placed where they were found had they been complete.

The cart/chariot burial from Garton Slack revealed a similarly arranged dismantled vehicle (Brewster 1971). The wheels were placed, not touching, at the base of the grave on west and east sides, with the body placed over them. The position of the yoke similarly lay to the west of the body and suggestions of “some



*Figure 2.7* Examples of dismantled and intact cart/chariot burials. A: Wetwang Slack cart burial no. 2 (East Yorkshire), B: Garton Station GS6 (East Yorkshire), C: Ferry Fryston (West Yorkshire). Based on Dent (1985, 89, figure 3), Stead (1991, 221, figure 122) and Boyle *et al.* (2007, 126, figure 86).

form of canopy” (ibid., 291) is indicative of a similar superstructure ‘box’ identified in the Wetwang examples. More curiously, the central pole at Garton Slack had been broken in two, with the front portion laid across the southern part of the grave (in a similar position to the axles in the Wetwang Slack graves) and the back portion aligned north-south beyond the head of the body. The breakage of the central pole, in addition to the dismantling of the vehicle, indicates the irreversibility of the act of deconstruction, and is perhaps mirrored in one of the two associated bridle bits that were broken into two portions prior to burial, and placed between the two parts of a cleft pig skull on top of the body.

The examples from Garton Station and Kirkburn (Stead 1991a, 29–33) also share similarities to these. At Kirkburn, the wheels were laid flat, side by side and not touching, aligned broadly east-west beneath the body. The mark for a possible axle followed a similar east-west alignment at the foot of the body and the central pole extended to the north of the body and the yoke to the west. Over the body, a ‘box’-shape of stained soil indicated the presence of the superstructure of the vehicle laid over the body and grave goods, including a mail tunic laid upside-down over the body. Whilst the example from Garton Slack (Figure 2.7B) shared many similarities to this and the other cart/chariot burials, with the presence of a central pole to the north, an axle aligned broadly east-west at the foot of the body and the ‘box’ of a superstructure over it, the positioning of the wheels was quite different. Here, the wheels had been removed but were placed upright together, leaning against the side of the grave in its north-western corner between the central pole and the side of the grave (*ibid.*, 29–30, 40–41). This combination of dismantling, but placing the wheels upright within the grave does indicate that some caution should be given to the distinction between intact and dismantled vehicle burials, particularly for the more fragmented examples such as that from Hunmanby (Sheppard 1907). As noted by Stead (1979, 23–24), the earlier Hallstatt 4-wheeled vehicle burial from Vix discovered in Burgandy, France, consisted of a dismantled vehicle that also had wheels placed in upright positions against the side of the grave (Joffroy 1958, 106; Knüsel 2002).

Outside of the UK, cart/chariot burials are known from Continental Europe, focusing on northern France and western Germany, associated with the Aisne-Marne and Hunsrück-Eifel regions. These examples have more in common with the upright, intact chariots compared with the dismantled examples. For example, the Marnian cart burials, such as that from Châlons-sur-Marne, displayed upright wheels sunk into separate holes either side of the extended inhumation’s head (Stead 1965). In this respect, the lack of dismantling has more in common with the late Hallstatt burials of 4-wheeled carts, such as from the same region. It has been noted that such vehicles could represent funerary vehicles, akin to hearses (*ibid.*).

The dating of cart/chariot burials sheds little light on the differences in tradition between intact and dismantled vehicles (Table 2.3). Unlike the Continental examples of the Aisne-Marne and Hunsrück-Eifel regions, which focus on the La Tène A period in the mid-late fifth century BC (Diepeveen-Jansen 2001), the majority of those from the UK are most likely to date to the decades either side of 200 BC (Jay *et al.* 2012, 182). The only exception to date is that from Newbridge in southern Scotland, which dates to the late fifth or early fourth century BC (Carter *et al.* 2010). With the latter example, the intact nature of the vehicle shares more in common with the Continental examples, although this does not explain the later date of the Ferry Fryston cart/chariot, which mirrors the dismantled examples.

The evidence from cart/chariot burials reveals numerous processes of deliberate deconstruction and breakage. The vehicles demonstrate exceptionally high levels of workmanship and skill and will have held considerable symbolic value for contemporary societies. The creation of these objects would have required significant quantities of different raw materials, from the metals and inlays, to

Table 2.3 Dates of cart/chariot burials from the UK

<i>Details</i>		<i>Date</i>
<i>Intact vehicles</i>		
Ferry Fryston (2230)	Male with horse gear and fittings	355–170 cal BC* (225–185 cal BC**)
Newbridge	Horse gear (body not preserved)	540–380 cal BC***
<i>Dismantled vehicles</i>		
Wetwang Slack Burial 1 (WS434)	Male with sword, horse gear and fittings. Forequarters of a pig over the body	360–100 cal BC*
Wetwang Slack Burial 2 (WS454)	Female with mirror, pin and sealed bronze box. Forequarters of two pigs over the body	390–200 cal BC*
Wetwang Slack Burial 3 (WS455)	Male with sword and possible shield boss, horse gear and fittings	390–190 cal BC*
Wetwang Village Chariot Burial (WE01)	Female with involuted brooch, mirror, horse gear and fittings	350–115 cal BC* (215–180 cal BC**)
Kirkburn (K5)	Male with mail tunic, horse gear and fittings. Forequarters of a pig over the body	360–190 cal BC*
Garton Station (GS6)	Male with horse gear and fittings	360–170 cal BC*
Garton Slack (GS XI Barrow 2)	Male with horse gear and fittings	360–120 cal BC*

\*Calibrated date at 95% confidence (Jay *et al.* 2012).

\*\*Posterior density estimates (Jay *et al.* 2012).

\*\*\*Combined radiocarbon date (Carter *et al.* 2010).

timber from carefully managed woodland. It has been estimated that to create just one iron tyre, it would have required 700kg of charcoal, representing five tonnes of wood, in addition to approximately 130 days of labour (Halkon 2008, 172). Hence, such vehicles would have represented a high level of tangible prestige (cf. Piggott 1992). It is also clear that many of these vehicles were used for a considerable time prior to their interment. There is evidence for wear and subsequent repairs of elements including wheels (Brewster 1971; Stead 1991a, 42) and other parts including the yoke (Giles 2012, 196), as well as possible replacements (Carter *et al.* 2010, 39). However, there is also evidence for at least parts of the vehicles not having been used; analysis of the terrets from Ferry Fryston revealed them to be merely leaded copper sheaths containing a clay/silt core, which would have shattered in normal use, indicating that they were constructed purely for the funeral (Boyle *et al.* 2007).

Given the highly visible status associated with the cart/chariot vehicles, the fact that they were removed from any functional use through burial within a grave marks a clear and fundamental shift in the object's history. The fact that so many of these vehicles are dismantled prior to burial marks an additional phase of transformation. It could be that the removal of the wheels made it easier for burial, requiring less earth movement, but such an interpretation would be naive considering

the level of workmanship and effort made in their construction. Furthermore, the level of dismantling far exceeds that required for easy burial. Whilst the majority of examples show the separation of the wheels, axle, yoke and superstructure, the evidence from Wetwang Slack Burial 2 (WS454) clearly demonstrates the degree of dismantling that took place; the different alignments of the various pieces of the vehicle show that even the central pole was removed from the superstructure (Dent 1985). It also seems that the superstructure was inverted over many of the bodies to create a kind of coffin.

In addition to the dismantling of these vehicles, there is some evidence to suggest that parts were also broken. Whilst the poor preservation of the organic parts of these objects means that interpretations can normally only be made from differences in the colour and composition of the soil, the example from the burial at Garton Slack indicated that the central pole had been broken in two, in addition to the dismantling of the vehicle (Brewster 1971, 290). Similarly, in the same grave, one of the two bridle bits had been broken prior to being placed deliberately between the two sections of a cleft pig's skull on top of the body. The association of other broken objects, such as the spears with interpreted snapped shafts from Wetwang Slack Burial 1 (WS453; Dent 1985, 88), appears to reflect an overall focus on breakage prior to or at the time of burial.

Whilst one might reflect upon the transformation of a vehicle for the living into a coffin, or putatively as a *vehicle* for the dead, the process of dismantling, associated with breakage, is compelling. The transformation from life to death is matched by the transformation of the vehicle through dismantling and breakage. These processes cannot be explained within any functionalist framework. They indicate levels of specialist knowledge and expertise and, although the number of examples is limited, they reflect repeated practices in terms of both the deconstruction and the deposition of the fragmented remains. It has been pointed out that the process of dismantling would have required the presence of a range of different craftspeople including carpenters and smiths cooperating "to loosen the lynch-pin, remove the wheels" (Giles 2012, 209). Given the prestigious nature of these objects, reflecting value based upon a range of factors from craftsmanship and hours of labour, to rarity of the materials used for their component parts, it is easy to consider them as iconic, ostentatious and perhaps enchanting (cf. Gell 1992) within contemporaneous societies. They clearly represented more than merely vehicles. Hence, the process of dismantling and breaking up, which would itself have taken time, effort and skill, would have been perceived by members of the community as significant and meaningful. As Giles (2012, 213) has noted, the process of dismantling and burial represents a repeated performance, but with each event being unique, combining a range of different actors.

Dismantled objects are not always associated with human burial contexts. On 28 May 1891, the remains of a silver cauldron were discovered in a small peat bog called Rævemosen near Gundestrup in northern Jutland (Figure 2.8). Whilst this object is now displayed in its re-constructed form following work at the National Museum in Copenhagen in 1892, when it was discovered, it consisted of seventeen parts. These comprised a round silver plate/bowl 69cm in diameter and 21cm



*Figure 2.8* The Gundestrup cauldron. Photograph by Lennar Larsen.

Source: The National Museum of Denmark.

in depth (normally considered to be the base), a circular silver plate, 25cm in diameter, with a recumbent bull motif, seven part-gilded rectangular silver plates depicting individuals on their convex sides (hence forming the outside part of the cauldron), five longer rectangular silver plates depicting scenes and fantastic animals on their concave sides (hence forming the inside panel of the cauldron), two pieces of silver tubing curved following the diameter of the bowl and pieces of a curved iron rod contained within one of these tubes (Nielsen *et al.* 2005, 4). At the time of discovery, all of the fragments were found stacked deliberately within the curved base. It seems likely that the additional, missing fragments, comprising an eighth outer plate, much of the rim and handles, were not present at the time of deposition, and no additional elements were discovered during metal detecting and magnetometry survey of the find site in 2002 (*ibid.*, 51–52).

The date and origin of the Gundestrup cauldron has remained a subject of debate since its original discovery. It is generally considered to date to the first century BC or AD (or slightly earlier), although interpretations of its place or origin range from Gaul to the lower Danube Basin (see Bergquist and Taylor [1987] for a discussion of the literature). Furthermore, the ordering of the plates and the iconographic meaning of the images represented on them has generated a great deal of debate (e.g. Kindt-Jensen 1959; Olmsted 1976; Rowlett 1993; Kaul 1995). These different debates are clearly interlinked, with iconography and workmanship providing evidence for both provenance and date. A tantalising interpretation provided by Burgquist and Taylor (1987, 22) suggested that the cauldron was constructed around the middle of the second century BC in south-eastern Europe



by Thracian silversmiths as a commission for a Celtic beneficiary living in the Lower Danube Basin, given the mixture of Thracian and Celtic imagery. The arrival in Jutland could therefore have been associated with the Cimbri, whose homeland lay in that region and who had invaded southwards in 120 BC, reaching the Middle or Lower Danube and Macedonian areas by 118 BC and going on to Noricum by 113 BC. Hence, it is possible that the cauldron was taken as war booty and brought back to northern Jutland after 113 BC, although the time between this and final deposition was not possible to ascertain.

However, subsequent radiocarbon dating of the beeswax deposits on four of the plates, indicates a later date during the Roman Iron Age, perhaps between 93 cal BC and AD 144 (90.6% probability) or cal AD 144 to 179 (1.9% probability), calibrated at two sigma (KIA19713; 1961±57BP) (Nielsen *et al.* 2005, 47–50). Similarly, isotopic analysis has begun to reveal a different story relating to at least the origins of the raw materials from which the cauldron was created. These analyses indicate strong similarities between the silver used and that available across northern France and western Germany, with shared patterns with coinage from this region (*ibid.*, 34–35). Similar associations were found in relation to the manufacture of the cauldron from the analysis of solder, probably using pre-Roman melted scrap silver from northern France or the Rhineland, although with tin sourced from Cornwall (*ibid.*, 35–38), although the origins of the raw materials do not necessarily reflect the place of manufacture. Prior to dismantling, the structure of the cauldron included bands of metal (which do not survive) between the plates that were attached with solder, traces of which remain visible on some of the plates providing evidence used to support the theories of reconstruction. Understanding the process of dismantling is partly dependent on interpretations of its original form. However, it has been noted that the plates show signs of considerable wear, buckling and damage which, although it could also indicate re-positioning of the plates at different times, may be more plausibly interpreted as a “forcible final dismantling” of the object (Bergquist and Taylor 1987, 13).

One month following the original discovery of the cauldron, samples of peat were taken from the area adjacent to the find spot, approximately 0.6m away. At the time, this sample was taken from the ground surface, down to 0.3m below the find spot of the cauldron, providing a sequence of approximately 1.2m (the top of the cauldron found at 0.6m below the surface). Analysis of plant remains by the University of Copenhagen indicated that the bog surface was firm and relatively dry at the time of deposition, with sedge, deergrass, *Sphagnum*, clubmoss, birch and juniper, with no evidence of water plants (Nielsen *et al.* 2005, 50). Hence, it seemed that the stack of plates had been arranged on top of the base plate and were not sunk into the wetland, remaining visible on the surface, with the peat growing over them gradually. As such, it would have been a marker in the landscape and, given its survival, was considered sacred and protected such that it was not stolen or removed. However, the re-assessment of the site and archive by Charlie Christensen in 2002 led to the suggestion that it is perhaps more likely that the cauldron pieces were placed within an Iron Age pit, perhaps from peat cutting, hence making sense of the combination of plants identified previously,



in addition to sketches made by the nineteenth-century excavators (Nielsen *et al.* 2005, 51–52).

Whether we accept the tantalising provenance theory presented by Anders Bergquist and Timothy Taylor (1987) or the perhaps more likely origin in the region of northern France/Rhineland (Nielsen *et al.* 2005), it remains debatable whether the cauldron was complete or already dismantled by the time it reached Jutland. If the cauldron was brought to Jutland already in its dismantled state, then it seems feasible that deposition could have been relatively soon after arrival. However, if it is considered that the cauldron was brought to the region complete, or even reconstructed in Jutland, then the object could have enjoyed a renewed value as a prestigious and perhaps ceremonial symbol for a number of years prior to deposition. Indeed, if this was the case, then the deconstruction of the cauldron and its deliberate stacking, probably within a pit previously dug in Rævemosen, would have represented significant moments and processes of sign transformation. As an object with intrinsic value in terms of the silver and workmanship, enriched by its history and potentially exotic provenance, it would have created deep meaning for those who used the object or discussed its history and origins. Hence, through its dismantling and, subsequently, its deposition, it is possible to see a series of physical transformations reflecting symbolic shifts in meaning and value related to the object.

These examples present a different type of breakage; one that is reversible such that the original object can be re-made from the constituent parts. However, the details of each example and the requirements needed for such reconstruction differ considerably. Whilst in both cases, re-construction would require specialist knowledge, for the vehicles this might only require putting the pieces back together. In contrast, the Gundestrup cauldron would have required the knowledge and equipment to solder the plates back together. Furthermore, there are pieces missing from the cauldron that would need to be re-sourced, including the joining strips of metal, each approximately 2cm wide, which would have been necessary in between the silver plates. In addition, there are parts of the cauldron that are missing, perhaps hidden elsewhere, which would have needed to be found or re-created. Hence, whilst it is possible to consider the idea of dismantling as a reduced level of direct physical breakage compared with snapping or irreversibly bending an object, the details reveal varying levels of destruction even when the destruction is essentially reversible.

## **Depositing objects**

The process of deposition marks a transformation in the life history of the object as well as in its cultural meanings and values. It transforms an object from one which can be used or displayed (or seen used) to one that might remain known about but cannot be directly accessed. As we have seen, in some cases, the transformative effects of deposition were matched or augmented by the physical breakage of objects. Hence, when considering deposition within the context of sign transformation, or iconoclasm, it is possible to consider both the act of

deposition as generating shifts in meaning and value, in addition to the transformations inferred from breaking for a selection of these objects. In relation to classifications within the literature on iconoclasm, deposition has been seen as protective or as a process by which sacrality can be enhanced through secrecy, or even a way of transmitting important icons to future generations (Rambelli and Reinders 2012, 183). Whilst perhaps more reversible than acts of physical breakage (though sometimes associated with them), processes of deposition can be understood within this framework (see Table 2.1). Deposition includes a vast array of different practices and circumstances that ultimately lead to objects becoming part of the archaeological record. At a most fundamental level, a distinction can be made between accidental discard and intentional deposition. Accidents can happen but can hardly be considered to be iconoclastic, even if seen at the time as a consequence of supernatural agency. The nature of deposition and the interpreted intentionality behind it are both important when considering deposition as a transformation of the meanings and values associated with an object. At face value, hiding objects at a time of crisis provides an indication of perceived value at the time but reflects a different type of transformation of meaning when compared with a deposit placed for votive reasons. Further categorisations can be made on the basis of the types of objects included, their completeness at the time of deposition or whether or not they show evidence of use or intentional breakage prior to this.

The complexities inherent in defining different types of depositional practice and the motivations behind them have been explored in detail in relation to hoards, providing four areas for investigation (Bradley 1990). The first is the importance of understanding what the context of deposition was at the time, as environments can change. By understanding the contemporaneous context, one can begin to interrogate whether different types of environment or burial context indicate different meanings. The second centres on the distinction between single finds and multiple finds, although this can be problematic when considering multiple finds from contexts such as rivers where it is not known whether they represent the deposition of numerous single objects or groups of objects. The third focuses on the nature of the objects themselves, whether weapons, tools or ornaments, or whether they are mixed, and provides a foundation for interpretation as different constituencies are likely to reflect different practices. Finally, the fourth area centres on the distinction between ritual deposits and non-ritual deposits, although there is potential for some overlap between the two. From these, the interpretation of hoards can focus on the circumstances of deposition, and whether they reflect utilitarian use or votive offerings (Bradley 1990, 15).

The category of utilitarian deposition is often indicative of material found typically within dryland contexts and associated with domestic or industrial activity. In terms of hoards, associations might include those relating to personal property, such as examples placed for protection at a time of social or political stress but not subsequently recovered, and hoards associated with crafts and industry, such as those of scrap metal intended for re-working, or complete finished objects

intended for re-distribution. However, the most common types of deposition within domestic contexts are those found within pits. Whilst these are sometimes dismissed as rubbish, a comprehensive study of Iron Age pits of Wessex, J.D. Hill demonstrated the special nature of deposits in terms of both what they contain and how they are placed. Deposits were “structured according to symbolic schemes, rationalities and common senses very different to our own” (Hill 1995a, 126). There has been considerable debate centring on *structured deposition* where even refuse appears in some circumstances to have been deposited deliberately and within a structured way that reflects contemporaneous cultural rules (Richards and Thomas 1984; Hill 1992). Such acts can be seen as building on the symbolism of objects as understood by communities, and transforming their meaning through the act of deposition.

In terms of iconoclasm, two themes of deposition are perhaps most relevant (Figure 2.9). The first is that of deposition within funerary contexts, in part due to the frequent instances of broken objects interred with the body. The second is what might be termed as votive or symbolic deposition, with a focus on non-utilitarian hoards.

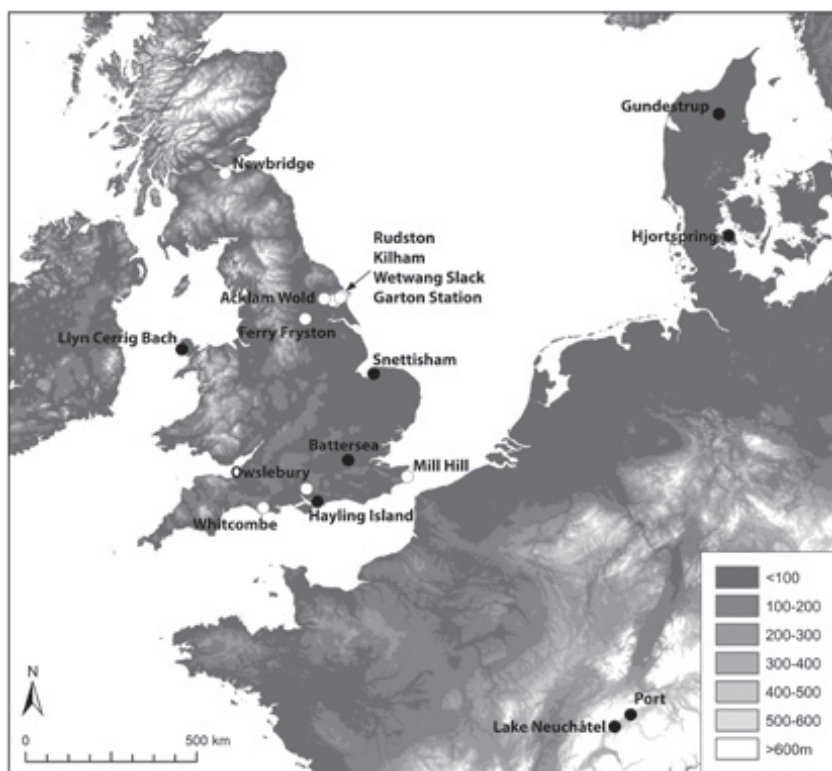


Figure 2.9 Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to the deposition of objects, showing those associated with burials and those from other contexts.

## Deposition in funerary contexts

Funerary contexts are one of the most explicit arenas for both physical and cultural transformation. In terms of the deposition of objects, we can see the removal of the object, either broken or complete, from cultural circulation and use by the living, separating it and making it largely irretrievable either physically through the funerary process or through the taboos associated with funerary rites. Furthermore, the act of deposition within the grave can alter the way in which an object is perceived. This might be through its physical breakage or dismantling as part of the funerary rites, or it could be a change in meaning of the object by its selection and deposition.

The reasons for breaking an object as part of a funerary rite are numerous and ten categories have been suggested as possible drivers for such actions (Grinsell 1961). These include apparently practical purposes, such as reducing the potential for tomb-robbery by rendering grave objects of limited value to the living (1); to prevent inheritance quarrels to thus stimulate trade (2); or to reduce the size of an object that might otherwise not fit into the grave (3; see also Grinsell 1973). The second group of possible drivers focus on religious motivations. These include releasing the 'spirit in the object' to accompany the deceased to the afterlife (4); to frighten away spirits (5); and to avoid 'pollution' of, and disease in, the living (6). It was also suggested that breakage could occur as part of an extended ceremony, with objects destroyed at the graveside (7). Furthermore, breakage might echo symbolic destruction to echo the death of an individual if the object held a close association with them in life (8), or it might symbolise the destruction of the enemies of the deceased (9). It was also noted that the reuse of an object that previously belonged to the deceased might be regarded as repugnant (10). A putative eleventh category suggesting that the living might want to keep complete objects and hence only donate broken objects was considered unlikely (Grinsell 1973).

Of these rationales for the breakage of objects within funerary contexts, it is possible and even likely that a single act of breakage comprised more than one intention. The avoidance of tomb-robbing (Grinsell's rationale 1) or inheritance quarrels to motivate trade (rationale 2) might have been factors in addition to other, seemingly less practical, considerations. It is tempting to consider the deliberate deconstructing of vehicles within the Arras graves (mentioned above) as reflecting the intention of reducing the size of an object to make it fit into the grave (rationale 3), although this is perhaps unlikely given the presence of examples that were not dismantled but which had additional slots dug into the grave to accommodate upright elements such as the wheels, as with the examples from Ferry Fryston in West Yorkshire (Boyle *et al.* 2007) and Newbridge in Edinburgh (Carter and Hunter 2003; Carter *et al.* 2010). Equally, such dismantling might be interpreted in terms of being part of the performance of the extended ceremony (rationale 7).

Within the context of such extended ceremonial performances associated with funerary rites, Melanie Giles has noted the significance of dramatic actions at the graveside (Giles 2015). There are particular examples of this that present a

level of drama generated through the act of breakage. Within the Garton Station barrow cemetery in Yorkshire, a number of burials were found associated with multiple spearheads indicative of impaling the corpse at the time of burial. Within barrow GS10, fourteen spearheads were found within the grave, six of which had been driven into the body with others scattered around it; their positions indicating that they had been hurled into the grave (Stead 1991a, 33). The insubstantial nature of the spearheads led to the suggestion that they had been manufactured purely for this type of ceremony rather than having been used in conventional ways (*ibid.*). These depositions are quite unlike normal arrangements of grave goods and took place during the funerary ceremony itself. The arrangement of seven iron spearheads within cart burial 1 from Wetwang Slack led to the interpretation that their shafts must have been snapped prior to deposition within the grave because otherwise they would have extended beyond the boundaries of the cutting (Dent 1985, 88). The arrangement of the spearheads within these barrows, and those from other Yorkshire cemeteries, is coupled with evidence in some cases that they had been thrust through shields overlying the corpses (Stead 1991, 66; Giles 2012, 233). The practice of breaking shields is also known from the Iron Age burial known as the Deal Warrior (Grave 112, Deal, Kent) where the shield had been snapped longitudinally before being placed on the left side of the body (Parfitt 1995, 18), presumably as part of the funerary cemetery (Giles 2015).

In addition to providing a sense of performance associated with the funerary rites, such breakage of objects, presumably at the graveside, might also reflect the symbolic destruction of objects associated with the individual in life, thereby echoing their own death (rationale 8). As has been noted, the breaking of objects associated with the deceased might reflect an attempt whereby mourners “seized death on behalf of the deceased” (Giles 2015, 544). Equally, however, it is not known whether the objects associated with the bodies were those used by the individual in life or whether they were those belonging to enemies. In the case of the bent sword associated with an inhumation burial from Acklam Wold in Yorkshire, it was suggested that it could have been ‘decommissioned’ because it was that which killed the individual (Giles 2015, 542) and hence was destroyed as a metaphorical destruction of his enemies (rationale 9). On the contrary, if the sword had belonged to the individual, it might have been broken because it failed to protect the individual, thus causing his death (*ibid.*). Either way, it might be that any of these actions caused the object to become considered culturally dangerous requiring its *killing* and removal from society (perhaps reflecting Grinsell’s rationales 6 or 10).

Grinsell’s series of rationales for the breakage of objects within funerary contexts provides a useful framework for interpretation, not least by demonstrating the plurality of interpretations that might be obtained from the evidence. In addition to the examples outlined previously, Grinsell’s other ideas have been interpreted from later prehistoric contexts, such as weapons being placed in graves as ‘guardian spirits’ (Pearce 2013; Grinsell’s rationale 5) or to release the spirits of the objects that might therefore accompany the individual in the afterlife.

‘Breakage’ within funerary contexts can also be interpreted from examples where such transformations may be considered to be more reversible. In some cases of Iron Age burials, the positions of grave goods indicate a reversal from how they would have been worn and used in life. Within the rich cemeteries of East Yorkshire, the positions of swords and longer knives are all placed on or near the body in positions that indicate that they were not being worn at the time of burial (see Stead 1991a). In the vast majority of cases, these are positioned with the hilts pointing to the head of the grave and the points directed towards the foot. Such arrangements are present at Rudston (including graves R24, R57, R87, R144, R146, R154, R163 and R174), Garton Station (GS10) (Stead 1991) and Wetwang Slack (cart burials 1 and 3) (Dent 1985). Similar patterns within warrior burials are noted elsewhere, such as with the warrior burials from Mill Hill, Kent (Parfitt 1995), Owslebury, Hampshire and Whitcombe, Dorset (Cunliffe 2005, 556). However, in the case of grave K3 from Kilham, the highly decorated sword in its scabbard was positioned in an inverted position to the side of the body, with the hilt pointing towards the foot of the grave and the point directed towards the head (Stead 1991a, 225). Such a position is the reverse of how it would have been worn in life. Similarly, within burial K5, also at Kilham, the mail tunic draped over the body was similarly positioned upside down if compared with how it would have been worn in life. Such reversals represent an additional type of transformation, and one that is more subtle than material breakage. From those sites that have been dated, the difference between upright and inverted objects cannot be explained chronologically because they remain broadly contemporaneous (see Jay *et al.* 2012), and so it is likely that these reversals indicate a deliberate breaking from normal traditions. In the cases of both the sword in burial K3 and the mail tunic in burial K5, these represent exceptionally rare and rich workmanship, and so it is possible that the individuals buried were in some way of greater social importance compared with others. If this was the case, then perhaps it is likely that the inverting of the sword and mail tunic respectively symbolically reflected the death of not just the individuals, but also the social power that they might have held in life.

Ultimately, the dead do not bury themselves (Parker Pearson 2003, 3). Hence, the inclusion of grave goods, broken or intact, represents a level of conspicuous consumption perhaps aimed at enhancing the status of the surviving elite (see Bradley 1982). From an economic perspective, the burial of objects removes them from circulation or from achieving heirloom status, but the burial itself marks a transformation that was intended to be permanent and irreversible. Coupled with the processes of breakage of some of these objects, we see a series of transformations taking place in association with funerary rites. These activities indicate a level of ceremony and performance (e.g. Giles 2015) but they also represent something far more fundamentally symbolic. Objects might have been selected for inclusion due to their association with the individual being buried (e.g. either owned by them or perhaps responsible for their demise) but they also potentially included objects manufactured purely for funerary ceremonies (see Stead 1991, 33). The dismantling or destruction of these objects marked a material



transformation of the object that itself would have impacted upon the meanings and values that were associated with it by the community. The placing of objects within the grave would have held additional meaning, particularly in relation to those that were placed in reversed positions compared with normal practice. Finally, the internment of the objects would have provided an additional shift in meaning, with the memory of their placement remaining with communities for as long as the burial was remembered. Hence, the process of dismantling, breakage, placement and deposition of objects within graves provides a series of transformations in meaning, some of which would have echoed the transformation of the individual from life to death, but others that would have symbolised much broader themes of power and control.

### **Votive and symbolic deposition**

A northern European tradition of interpretation of hoards highlights that of votive deposition (see Bradley 1990, 28). The identification of votive deposition has traditionally included the irregular patterning of material, such as the inclusion of food remains with other objects, particularly where they contain different ranges of species compared with domestic rubbish (e.g. Todd 1987). Such definitions also centre on the idea that votive depositions are likely to be harder to recover at a later date. Later prehistoric hoards that echo a votive or symbolic intentionality appear in three principal contexts, comprising rivers, wetlands and drylands. As noted by Bradley (1990, 15), some caution is required because environmental contexts can change through time and so the precise conditions of deposition can be problematic, such as the relationship between the open water of a river or the more ambiguous riparian zone. Different environments will have impacted on the levels of physical irretrievability of deposited objects.

Deposits within or associated with rivers are perhaps the most difficult to interpret because finds have historically been made during dredging and other activities that remove or disturb the primary contexts of burial. Furthermore, there is the potential that objects could have been discarded accidentally, or at times of conflict and subsequently not retrieved. However, for regions such as the Thames Valley, the high number of objects does indicate deliberate deposition with no intention of retrieving the deposited objects. Nearly half of the known Iron Age swords and scabbards discovered in southern Britain came from river contexts, and the lower numbers found elsewhere might reflect lower levels of activities such as dredging (Stead 2006, 79–80). These patterns of metalwork from rivers is further reflected by other Iron Age objects, such as the Battersea Shield (Stead 1985), currency bars (Hingley 1990a) and others (e.g. Fitzpatrick 1984), and builds upon traditions known from the later Bronze Age (e.g. York 2002) and their potential associations with the deposition of human remains (Bradley and Gordon 1988).

In terms of depositional practice, the distinction between river zones and other types of wetland is also not always clear. The wetland site of La Tène on Lake Neuchâtel in Switzerland has produced a huge quantity of deliberately deposited

and occasionally broken Iron Age objects (Navarro 1972), but similar finds have been made in the associated surrounding rivers (Field and Parker Pearson 2003, 181). Environmental change is often a characteristic of wetland environments and so the distinctions between sites of open water and peatland can be challenging to make. To add further complexity, in the case of the Gundestrup cauldron from northern Jutland, it is possible that the fragmented objects were placed into a dug pit within a wetland where the surface was relatively dry (Nielsen *et al.* 2005, 51–52). Although the identification of the specific environmental contexts of wetland deposition can be complex, wetlands are neither land nor water and can change dramatically by the season. Wetlands are diverse, dynamic and can be seen as liminal places between one world and the next (Van de Noort and O’Sullivan 2006). In some instances, the deposition of objects is associated with structures such as causeways (e.g. Field and Parker Pearson 2003). In the case of the hoard from Llyn Cerrig Bach on Anglesey, it has been argued that a natural rock platform might have served a similar purpose (Fox 1947). Llyn Cerrig Bach is also notable for the sheer range of different objects that were placed there, which included weapons and a shield boss, in addition to items of gold, horse and cart/chariot fittings, metalworking equipment and currency bars, a bronze cauldron and trumpet, and a possible ‘gang-chain’, amongst other items (Fox 1947). It is likely that the deposit represents a single event dating to the late second or early third century BC (Stead 2006, 80). Although most interpretations of the hoard see it as a votive deposit (e.g. Fox 1947; Lynch 1970), it has also been suggested that it could have been the cargo of an ancient shipwreck based in part on the variety of objects represented (Roberts 2002). Such a plurality of interpretation demonstrates the considerable potential for environmental change in the past and its relevance for understanding deposits such as Llyn Cerrig Bach.

Some hoards found within wetland contexts have clear military associations. Perhaps the most significant of these is from the small bog at Hjortspring Kobebel on the island of Als in Jutland, Denmark, dating to the late fourth century BC. Excavated in the 1920s, the find consisted of a 19m long sewn plank boat containing 11 swords, 169 iron and antler/bone spearheads, many with shafts, at least 10 mail-coats, 64 shields and a range of other objects (Randsborg 1995). The site was interpreted as a sacrifice, perhaps following a successful military victory. Writing in the first century BC, Caesar noted that the spoils of war were collected and placed in a sacred space (*De Bello Gallico* VI: 17). If the Hjortspring hoard was such a deposit, then its location in a shallow and relatively accessible small wetland (Randsborg 1995, 19) would make sense as a visible display of military success. In contrast with hiding votive offerings through the process of deposition, with the bog being no more than 50m across, it is possible that these spoils of war would have remained at least partially visible for some time as a symbol of triumph.

The hoard from Hjortspring demonstrates how, whilst most votive deposition is likely to follow patterns relating to physical irretrievability, practices were more variable. In a binary sense, dryland deposition has been seen as less likely to be votive than that in wetlands for this reason (e.g. Levy 1982), although, as



for the complexities surrounding different types of wetland, this is not always the case. At the site of Snettisham in Norfolk, the discovery of at least twelve hoards, which included torcs, coins and ingots of copper ore dating from the second to first centuries BC, has led to a variety of interpretations. Early interpretations centred on the idea that the objects had been hidden with the intention of retrieval as a treasury, perhaps with the intention of broken objects being remade (Stead 1991b). However, subsequent interpretation incorporating the landscape context of these finds has highlighted the possibility that these hoards might represent votive offerings (e.g. Fitzpatrick 1992). Rather than focusing on the moment of deposition, it has also been argued that hoards such as that from Snettisham also emphasises a longer period of collection that would have implications for a wider network of individuals and social processes (Joy 2016). Objects will have held symbolic associations relating to their use or ownership, but also perhaps as heirlooms, particularly for torcs, which are rarely found in burial contexts. The fact that some objects were tied together indicates relationships between objects and perhaps the individuals with whom they were associated. If such hoards represent longer-term patterns of collection stemming from complex social relationships, and their deposition is seen as votive, then their burial marks a sharper transformation than might be interpreted from the moment of deposition in isolation.

Deposition can of course take place in numerous other contexts. These include temples or sanctuaries such as that on Hayling Island in Hampshire, where the first-century structure revealed votive deposits including horse gear, spears, fragments of scabbards, brooches, coins, tankards and currency bars (King and Soffe 1998). Similarly, apparently votive deposition has been identified in what can be seen as significant locales within the landscape, such as within boundary ditches of settlements and forts. The wide range of types of objects deposited, and the potential timeframes associated with their collection, highlight the complexities of meanings and values that would have been associated with them.

The contexts of deposition have provided a strong interpretative methodology within the archaeological literature. For wetland deposition, it may be considered that the act of burial or submersion relates to irretrievability, and thus irreversibility of the action. This lends itself well to interpretations of ritual practices whereby separation is a key element of the process (cf. Aldhouse-Green 2001, 24), leading to explanations that centre on religious votive practice. However, not all deposits within wetland contexts necessarily result in irretrievability, and it has been suggested that there is no need for a singular interpretation (Ransborg 2002). The deposition of a sword, for example, might indeed reflect votive deposition, whilst at the same time removing a symbolically dangerous object from circulation and demonstrating conspicuous consumption by the elite (e.g. Bradley 1990). The range of depositional practices include complete objects, damaged objects such as battle worn weapons, through to dismantling or the apparent deliberate breakage of objects prior to deposition. In some cases, the broken parts of an object are deposited separately to one another. Whilst it might be inappropriate to suggest a single interpretation for this wide range of detail relating to the deposition of objects, certain themes can be observed. First, regardless of the detailed

interpretation of these events, each of these processes offers a transformation of the object. The first transformation might relate to the collection of certain objects, and this might be followed by the selection of objects for dismantling or breaking, along with the acts themselves. These processes and moments reflect shifting the different meanings and values associated with the objects as perceived by different members of the communities involved. The process of deposition can be seen as an extension of these transformations. For some objects, their first material transformation might be the act of deposition itself, whilst for others, it marks the final shift following a series of other transformations.

## Objects as icons and iconoclasm

So far, this chapter has explored the different types of breakage of objects from the later prehistoric period in relation to the levels of destruction and reversibility of this destruction. It has followed a broadly biographical approach, highlighting how the meanings and values of objects can be transformed through their creation, use, movement, breakage and disposal. In the more obviously representational cases, such as the stone head from Mšecké Žehrovice, it is easy to see how the object might have held value in a similar way to the icons of later periods, and hence how their breakage could be considered within the more traditional frameworks of iconoclasm discourse. It seems likely that the representation presented within the imagery embodied meanings that extended beyond the material. Along these lines, it has been suggested that later prehistoric Iberian statues provided potent symbols that institutionalised warfare based on the imagery depicted and their positioning within the landscape (Freire 2005). Here, the statues were seen as representing more than mere depictions of warriors or chieftains, but rather represented a social symbol of how society was expected to behave as representations of an ideology.

Later prehistoric imagery provides a very specific avenue for exploring the potential for more traditional acts of iconoclasm in the distant past. Very few representations of gods exist, and most of these are made of stone or carved into chalk. Wooden figures that might represent deities have been discovered from wetland contexts (e.g. Coles 1990) and it is perhaps likely that the majority of religious images were made from perishable materials. If we are to believe classical authors, then we might expect that there existed many images of deities (e.g. Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* VI:17). As with the head from Mšecké Žehrovice, it is also unclear whether such images represented significant individuals or gods. It has been argued that, for later prehistory, “images were not passive things to be looked at and consumed as works of art, but ... dynamic tools used by communities who produced and consumed them” (Aldhouse-Green 2004a, 2). Writing towards the end of the nineteenth century, Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae considered the less figurative imagery associated with early La Tène art, including boats, fish, snakes and horses, as well as more abstract designs, as religious iconography. The fact that his successor, Sophus Müller, disagreed with this interpretation, arguing that the increasing abstraction of imagery indicated that it was merely

ornamental (Kaul 2014), emphasises some of the challenges in the interpretation of imagery. Whilst some images appear to directly represent something or someone, hence appearing to be different from other types of artefact (Aldhouse-Green 2004a, 6–7), abstraction of imagery blurs the distinction. Furthermore, it is clear that other objects that do not present such imagery achieved symbolic or perhaps even iconic status, where they represented much more than their functional or material existence.

In the case of swords, textual sources from later prehistory onwards provide strong indications of the potential for multi-layered meanings and values appertaining to the objects. The mystical and political significance of the sword is well expressed through Arthurian legend, as represented by *Caliburn*, Arthur's sword in the early twelfth-century account by Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Historia Regum Britanniae*) or the more familiar *Excalibur*, as it appears in the fifteenth-century version by Thomas Mallory (*Morte d'Arthur*). Late Bronze Age indications of the symbolic significance of swords are provided by Homer in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, such as in Book 8 of the *Odyssey* where Odysseus is given a prestigious sword by King Alcinous (Rieu 2003). Similarly, significant swords and spears are mentioned in the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* set around the first century AD (Kinsella 1969), and in the eponymous poem *Beowulf*, possibly dating to the eighth century AD, within which the protagonist possesses a rare and ancient sword named Hrunting (Heaney 2000). These examples imply that at least some swords would have held considerable symbolic value, which arguably derived in part from their rarity and the technological challenges of their manufacture, but also stemmed from their role as potent symbols of wealth, power and prestige, perhaps echoed by interpretations of certain swords in later prehistory being inherited by subsequent generations as heirlooms (see Kristiansen 2002). It is possible to see the re-use of particular swords within ceremonies as augmenting their significance; the sword named *Curtana*, first mentioned in the thirteenth century, was carried in English coronations, before being re-made in the seventeenth century following the English Civil War, to remain in use today (Pearce 2013, 56–57; see above).

The observation of potential identities associated with later prehistoric weapons similar to those indicated through mythologies has been noted by Mark Pearce (2013). Following Barnes (1972), he outlined categories based on sword names that could be grouped in terms of biographical and functional characteristics. In terms of the former, names might reflect associated individuals (reflecting gifts, sometimes ironically relating to a previous owner who was killed by the subsequent owner; the name or nickname of the owner; the name of the smith; the name of ancestral or tribal units) or an intended future biography, though naming related to the weapon's ability to kill or destroy enemies, or associations with abstract notions such as honour. Names relating to functional characteristics might include references to its visual appearance (characteristics of fittings such as the hilt; physical characteristics such as length; physical comparisons with animals) or qualities such as the sound it makes in use, or its sharpness. Such names are also associated with other weapons and armour.

Whether such identity relating to weapons existed in prehistory is hard to establish. Stamp or punch marks on weapons provide some indication of the possible naming of swords, although the practice is rare and thus questionable in terms of applicability to other weapons. A later first century BC sword from Port on the Nidau-Büren canal in Canton Bern, Switzerland was stamped 'Korisios' in Greek letters, associated with a palm-tree flanked by two honed animals, perhaps referring to the sword-smith rather than the owner (Wyss 1956), or even of the sword itself (cf. Pearce 2013, 57). Although the sword appears to have been recovered from a river rather than a grave, it had been bent whilst in its scabbard. A second example from Zemplín in Slovakia from perhaps the end of the first century BC or slightly later revealed a mark of V]TILICI[O in Latin letters (Pearce 2013). A number of swords displaying textual makers' marks were among those discovered within the hoard from Nydam Mose in Denmark (Engelhardt 1866, 76). Whilst these examples represent a very small sample, those that have been analysed were well-made swords, leading to the possible interpretation that naming was only applied to the finest objects (Pearce 2013, 58). The importance of well-made weapons, in contrast to the descriptions outlined by Plutarch and Polybius is reflected by the possibility that some groups of swords might have been made by a single craftsman or within a single workshop. For example, it has been suggested that three of the most impressive swords from the Arras cemeteries on the Yorkshire Wolds (those from Kilham burial K3, and two of the cart/chariot burials from Wetwang Slack: WS453 and WS455) might have been made within a generation of one another, in the same workshop and perhaps finished by the same artisan (Stead 2006, 118; Giles 2012, 165).

Whilst textual stamps indicative of naming weapons are limited in number, it is possible that identity was generated through imagery. The anthropomorphic hilts of many of the La Tène short swords sometimes present strong characteristics including hairstyles and moustaches, as represented on the example from North Grimston, East Yorkshire, England. It has been argued that such objects were impractical for warfare due to their size and that the astral symbolism associated with some of them might indicate ceremonial use and potentially that of sacrifice (Fitzpatrick 1996). If this were the case, then a higher level of significance might be presumed for the object during later prehistory. Perhaps this, alongside anthropomorphic stamps and animal symbolism associated with longer swords, indicates a degree of 'identity or personhood' associated with these objects (Pearce 2013, 60). Whether such symbols or stamps were created at the time of manufacture (which was certainly the case for anthropomorphic hilts), or whether they were added later, these processes reveal how these objects were set aside and marked as different from others. Similar patterns can be seen on other weapons such as spearheads (*ibid.*, 60–62). In these cases, these weapons achieved an additional veneer of meaning and value attributed by the act of setting them apart, and this would have been augmented by their subsequent uses, in battle, at state occasions or, if we believe the associations presented by Fitzpatrick, human sacrifice. Hence, it is appropriate to consider these objects within the same frameworks suggested for other icons. Here, the acts of breakage, bending and/or discarding

would therefore have presented significant meaning to those observing or aware of the act. The objects would have been perceived as powerful beyond their functional physical qualities and so their destruction would have held matching significance to these communities.

## **Conclusions – breaking objects**

This chapter has highlighted moments of change relating to objects, from procurement and manufacture, to discard and deposition, arguing that, within these transformations, functional interpretations of objects are limited. For some, indications relating to their own social identities, such as through the specifics of naming in the case of weapons or through the broader life histories of objects representing movements, shifting ownership or use, suggest a deeper range of meanings and values attributed to them. Highlighting the fluidity and instability of meaning and value through time and space, it is important to temper life history debates with the true sense of plurality of both at any given time. The moments of transformation are equally variable. The most tangible of these are the material transformations that alter the physical nature of the object. These include the processes of manufacture and recycling, through to damage (and sometimes repair) through use and deliberate dismantling or breakage. Within these stages, there are indications of the hand of the skilful artisan or specialist to facilitate change, with objects frequently dismantled or broken deliberately, carefully and skilfully. In this respect, we might see parallels with the commissioning of artisan expertise in the iconoclastic destruction of statues during the French Revolution of the later eighteenth century (see Clay 2007).

The nature of breakage, and thus the potential reversibility of such actions, is partly dependent on the affordances of the materials from which they are made. The contrast between broken metal objects such as swords and broken stone objects such as the Mšecké Žehrovice head is that, like ceramic objects, the latter has less potential to be mended or recycled. Furthermore, the process of construction will also affect factors surrounding breakage, such as faults made during the casting of metal objects will naturally provide certain weaknesses, particularly when we consider less dramatic forms of destruction such as those resulting from normal use. The varying types of destruction in relation to the potential for material reversibility highlights both the differences and similarities associated with acts of breakage, snapping, bending or dismantling. Whatever the level, the intentional breakage of objects raises questions relating to timing and the individuals involved in the act. In addition to the examples where the expertise of specialists would be required to create the desired breakage, the selection of an object prior to its destruction would have marked it as distinctive up until the act. In some instances, such as with the objects associated with the grave of the Deal Warrior, it is likely that there was a very short interval between the act of breakage and deposition, but elsewhere it could have been longer.

In iconoclasm terms, the act of deposition can be interpreted as a type of destruction when it is considered as having altered the potential meanings of objects,

particularly if we consider religious connotations of offerings and sacrifice. It has been noted that “sacrifice *changes the nature* of the thing being sacrificed; it makes it sacred” (see Bradley 1990, 37), and we have seen that such a transformation can take place prior to deposition through the selection of the object to be sacrificed. It has also been noted that, because objects are not living, they cannot change their nature and can thus only be offerings (Kiernan 1988), limiting the notion of the sacred to something that may be considered to have a life that is subsequently taken through the act of sacrifice. However, the rich symbolism of some objects, perhaps most explicitly demonstrated by the naming of weapons (Pearce 2013), but also through equating objects with life histories, goes some way towards blurring such a distinction. In interpretative terms, the distinction has been further blurred by the frequent explanation of the intentional breakage of an object prior to deposition as being a type of ritual killing (e.g. MacDonald 2007). It is possible that the destruction and deposition of some objects took place within similar conceptual frameworks to the sacrifice of an animal or human.

The *breaking* of objects occurred in a range of different circumstances at a wide range of levels, from creation to physical and irreversible destruction through to non-material transformations, in both cases shifting patterns of meanings and values. From physical destruction, sometimes requiring specialist intervention, to acts of concealment, hiding or ceremonial deposition, each can be seen as breaking and re-making meanings. Objects might have been chosen for a number of reasons, perhaps due to their material and symbolic value, or because they were seen as culturally dangerous, perhaps because of symbolic or religious associations, such as a weapon that had killed or injured a member of the community. Equally, objects might have been collected over time, representing complex social relationships (e.g. Joy 2016). In all of these circumstances, the extra-functional meanings would only have been understood by those individuals who had knowledge of the symbolism or history of the objects and the events associated with them. Breakage can be seen as an “interruption in the object’s life-cycle” and can include its “creation, use, damage, repair (or its neglect) and discard” (Aldhouse-Green 2004a, 19). Whilst the contextual detail relating to many of these factors will remain unknowable, the numerous points of transformation provide a rich foundation for interrogation.

## Notes

- 1 Quotation attributed to Pablo Picasso.
- 2 From chapter 2 of Graham Greene’s short story entitled *The destructors* (Greene 1992, 7–23).

### 3 Breaking bodies


The human body can itself be seen as iconographic (e.g. Graves 2008) and attacks to it in the recent past have been interpreted as iconoclastic (e.g. Perlmutter 2007). Phrases such as *body image* blur the boundary between *image as icon* and *body as icon*, perhaps attested by the desire for bodily perfection through physical transformations in the modern world, from dieting and body art to cosmetic surgery (Barker and Barker 2002). In archaeology, the semiotic reading of the body and its associated material culture has been complex, reflecting both the forensic examination of human remains as artefacts and their social interpretation as reflecting lived experiences (e.g. Joyce 2005). The body provides the basis for interpreting embodied or humanised space (cf. Tilley 1994), as well as a foundation for interpreting lifestyles and status, both from evidence provided from the forensic analysis of human remains and interpretations based upon bodily adornments and clothing, or even from the circumstances of their burial. Hence, the archaeology of the body extends beyond the remains of an individual, representing a symbol of the individual's own lived experiences; their status in life, and the ways they were perceived by their own communities in death.

The acceptance of the body as an icon within at least some of the iconoclasm literature is demonstrated by the work of Rambelli and Reinders (2012, particularly 185–192), who extended ideas of destruction of humanoid images to attacks on the human body itself. Even where, prior to damage, the body is not seen as an icon, it can be transformed into one through the act of destruction, as is the case with instances of martyrdom. In constructing a catalogue of bodily injury, they noted the challenge of identifying and interpreting intentionality relating to acts of iconoclasm, including both natural agency and human agency within their register, particularly where acts of unintentional damage may be read by others as intentional (see Table 3.1). This classification provides a basis from which to explore iconoclasm in relation to the body in later prehistory, with iconoclasm seen as extending from the direct, irreversible killing of the individual through to discursive transformations brought about through cultural redefinition, in addition to highlighting the differences in intentionality that can be read from essentially the same physical evidence.

Ironically perhaps, archaeology rarely allows us to explore the life history of specific individuals, and this is particularly the case for examples for which associated written sources do not exist. It can, however, provide indications of the different timescales of living, including forensic factors such as disease, occupation



*Table 3.1* Differential levels of iconoclasm against the body, in relation to levels of reversibility and intentionality (after Rambelli and Reinders [2012, 187] with modifications, including the addition of slavery to the scheme – the original classification focused on purely religious practice)

	Persecution (with the intention to do harm)	Asceticism (with the intention to preserve)
Irreversible loss of physical integrity of the body 	Obliteration (e.g. killing, no remains left, buried)	Sacrifice (e.g. self-immolation, martyrdom)
	Destruction with residue	Destruction with residue (e.g. relics)
	Disfiguring (e.g. torture or assault, branding)	Self-mutilation (e.g. scarification, tattooing)
	Slavery	Self-sacrifice
	Humiliation (e.g. ritualised abuse, demotion, mockery)	Humility (e.g. fasting, penance, obeisance)
	Hiding (e.g. imprisonment)	Hiding (e.g. meditational confinement, eremiticism)
More reversible	Cultural redefinition (mockery, polemics)	Cultural redefinition (e.g. reform movements)

and cause of death. Some of these elements reflect short-term change, such as the last meal evidenced by the stomach contents of ice- or wet-preserved individuals, or the processes of ritual sacrifice. Others reflect longer timescales, such as geographical movement and diet, as seen through stable isotopes, or occupation in life, interpreted from osteological analyses and material culture. Whilst it is uncommon to have all of these different strands of information for a single body, collectively these demonstrate the different timescales of activities in life. They also indicate different rates of change in terms of both space (e.g. movement identified through isotopes) and time (implicit within these datasets). This chapter explores iconoclasm in relation to the human body through the examination of the two themes of *transformations in life* and *transformations in death*. Within the former, the focus is on the levels of permanence of the transformation. Within the latter, the topics of conflict, sacrifice, deposition, burial and fragmentation are considered. Through the examination of the destruction/transformation of the human body as an icon, this chapter explores the impacts of these transformations in terms of their temporal and spatial resolutions, in addition to themes of agency, motivation and intentionality. Together, these highlight the case for seeing transformations as appropriate foci of study within an iconoclasm framework.

## Bodies in life

And one man in his time plays many parts, His acts being seven ages.

William Shakespeare<sup>1</sup>

Through the investigation of human remains and material culture, archaeology is commonly the interpretation of narratives of life (Figure 3.1). Whilst only a small percentage of past populations are represented directly through this material, by incorporating the wide range of archaeological approaches, it becomes possible to develop interpretations of moments and periods of transition in the past relating to individuals. If we focus on moments of change within a life, then we might consider the rites of passage associated with biological events such as birth, the transition to adulthood, parenthood and death, in addition to culturally variable events, such as marriage, initiation (such as Christian confirmation), social promotion (e.g. inheritance or coronation) or demotion (e.g. into slavery).

The first tangible transition within a lifetime comes with the process between conception to childbirth, which also mirrors the transition to parenthood in adults. Whilst transformations such as birth, transitions to adulthood and death can be assumed from human remains, any focus on these events can often be less clear. For example, it has been highlighted that the focus on life changes in the past has under-represented childbirth compared with other transitions (e.g. Beausang 2000), although archaeological evidence from later prehistory does attest the trauma of death in childbirth (e.g. Stead 1991a, 136; Giles 2015). Whilst there

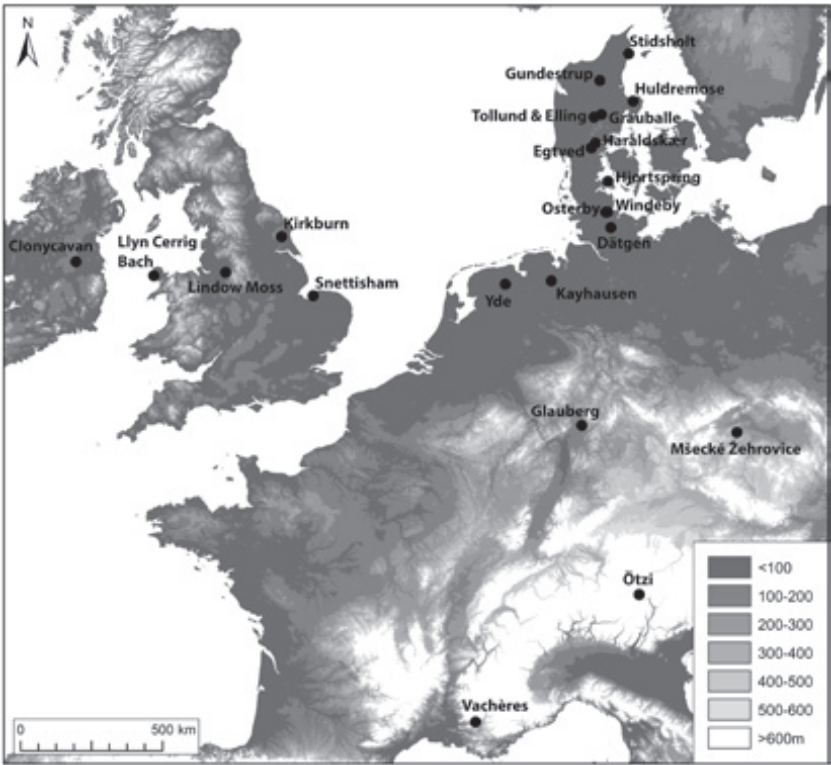


Figure 3.1 Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to bodies in life.

has been more recognition of the importance of exploring themes of childhood in prehistory (e.g. Kamp 2001; Lally 2008), the links between bioarchaeological and social archaeological interpretation have been limited (Halcrow and Tayles 2008), although on rare occasions, the tragedy of childbirth can be highlighted (e.g. Lieverse *et al.* 2015).

Direct evidence of the very early life of an individual can be challenging to identify, other than the rare examples such as the wet-preserved cradles from the north-west coast of North America (Croes 2001) or interpreted toys (e.g. Balen-Letunić 2014) and miniature ‘adult’ objects (e.g. Turek 2000), although it has been acknowledged that children remain largely invisible in the archaeological record (Sofaer-Derevenski 1996; cf. Sofaer-Derevenski 2000). However, the early life of an individual can sometimes be determined, at least geographically, through the use of stable isotopes (see Bentley 2006). Such techniques have been used to identify the geographical origins of well-known examples, including individuals associated with the Stonehenge landscape (Evans *et al.* 2006) and Ötzi, the Tyrolean Iceman (Kutschera and Müller 2003), through to generating evidence to investigate claims of population movements and migrations (cf. van Dommelen 2014) in Neolithic (e.g. Bentley *et al.* 2002), the early Bronze Age (e.g. Grupe *et al.* 1997; Price *et al.* 2004) and Iron Age (Scheeres *et al.* 2013, 2014; Scheeres 2014). The identification of other rites of passage, such as those associated with factors including initiation to adulthood, or the establishment of marriage partnerships can also sometimes be possible. Although difficult to identify archaeologically, a reference to later prehistoric marriage in northern Europe is provided by the first century AD Roman author Tacitus:

Their marriage code, however, is strict, and no feature of their morality deserves higher praise. They are almost unique among barbarians in being content with one wife apiece – all of them, that is, except a very few who take more than one wife not to satisfy their desires but because their exalted rank brings them many pressing offers of matrimonial alliances. The dowry is brought by husband to wife, not by wife to husband ... she is reminded, in the very ceremonies which bless her marriage at its outset, that she enters her husband’s home to be the partner of his toils and perils, that both in peace and in war she is to share his sufferings and adventures.

(Tacitus, *Germania* 18; trans. Mattingly 1970, 116–117)

Status is often interpreted from burial remains. Whilst it is rarely possible to indicate any scale of social promotion, such as within meritocratic societies, the archaeological evidence from prehistoric burials is weighted in favour of what might be termed special individuals, either indicating the upper end of the hierarchy, or special in terms of the circumstances of their death, whether from conflict or from sacrifice. Evidence of status can be inferred from the mode of burial, from the material culture associated with the body or, in some well-preserved cases, from the body itself, through evidence of diet or indications of low levels of manual labour (e.g. Brothwell and Dobney 1986).

Evidence of demotion is more problematic. Slavery and bondage are well attested within classical literature,<sup>2</sup> and are depicted in ancient art (e.g. Aldhouse-Green 2004b). There is also a strong material culture of slavery, particularly for later prehistory, such as the slave gang-chain from Llyn Cerrig Bach on Anglesey (Fox 1947), although it has been suggested that the prevalence of slavery was far greater than the archaeological evidence might suggest (Taylor 2005). Miranda Aldhouse-Green (2004b) has noted that the use of gang-chains provides not only a functionalist method of restraint (along with other types of manacles), but also a ritualistic role in shaming and deterring (cf. Foucault 1977, 257–261), as a symbolic representation of the transition from freedom to captivity. It has been suggested that there is a relationship between certain aspects of restraint and the processes of human sacrifice (Aldhouse-Green 2004b). Examples, such as the body of a boy found at Kayhausen, Germany, provide clear evidence of bondage as part of a sacrifice by stabbing; the boy's legs were tied together and, separately, bonds around his neck extended down between his legs and up his back, tying his hands behind him (Van der Sanden 1996, 93). The recurrence of ropes around the necks of sacrificial victims found within bogs provides a possible further linkage within ideas of restraint and bondage, in addition to the more practical aspects of hanging, strangling and garrotting (Aldhouse-Green 2005, 158–159). Timothy Taylor has suggested that the cultural impact of slavery, and particularly of the use of slave chains, is represented by the elite wearing of torcs during the La Tène period, as a symbolic difference between slavery and freedom (Taylor 2001). Furthermore, he argued that such objects might also be symbolic of enslavement to a superior power, that “to wear a gold or silver neck-piece signalled enslavement to deity and, by that very token, freedom on earth” (ibid., 39).

Human remains, their context of burial and the material culture associated with them are, together, able to facilitate interpretations of the cycle of human life. Some elements are easier to read than others, and some are inferred – survival to adulthood is clearly indicative of earlier transformations even though evidence associated with these might not be forthcoming. In the following sections, the discussion will focus on the evidence for a number of physical transformations that have been identified archaeologically as body modifications during later prehistory.

### **Body modifications**

So far, this chapter has considered the body through the perspective of lives lived and transitions such as rites of passage. It has explored the changes that might be expected and the nature of the archaeological evidence to support and draw focus on them. There is however the alternate approach to addressing the challenge of identifying transformations in life, which is to focus on the evidence from the body itself, treating it as an *icon* or *sign*. Hence, modifications to that body, which may have been identified archaeologically, form the basis for interpretation, initially in terms of the timescales and actors involved,

and second, in terms of the different levels of change, from very temporary to permanent. Originally writing in the early twentieth century, Arnold van Gennep (2011) described bodily transformations within rites of passage, such as tattooing, scarification and body-painting; a topic that has subsequently received significant attention. For example, Lévi-Strauss (1963, 257) described the body as a surface upon which culture was imprinted, using the example of Maori tattoos reflecting both images and embodied representations of tradition and group philosophy. This *social skin* (Turner 1980) mirrored the practice of body modification within both life-cycle rituals and everyday life, reflecting the association between the individual and society, and relating people to the world they inhabited (Turner 1995, 167). The range of body modifications can be classified as either temporary (reversible) transformations, such as body-painting or the wearing of wigs, or permanent (irreversible) changes, such as tattooing and scarification. In each case, these processes create what has been described as a *second skin* (Schildkrout 2004) with implications for how an individual is perceived by themselves and by others.

### Temporary transformations

There is a strong literature exploring how the wearing of clothes and jewellery provides a tangible route for identifying gender, age and status of an individual in society, with changes in clothing being indicative of occupation, geographical origin, personality, opinions, tastes, desires and mood (e.g. Hollander 1993, Davis 1994, Lurie 2000). Due to limited preservation, the evidence of clothes and jewellery during prehistory is more limited than for later periods. Jewellery might be recovered from contexts such as graves, but clothes are much more rarely preserved, although the distinction between the two might not always be appropriate. At face value classical sources provide a starting point for understanding clothing, at least for the very end of prehistory.

The universal dress in Germany is a cloak fastened with a brooch or, failing that, a thorn. They pass whole days by the fireside wearing no garment but this. It is a mark of great wealth to wear undergarments, which are not loose like those of the Sarmatians and Parthians, but fit tightly and follow the contour of every limb. They also wear the skins of wild animals – the tribes near the river frontiers without any regard to appearance, the more distant tribes with some refinement of taste, since in their part of the country there is no finery to be bought. These latter people select animals with care, and after stripping off the hides decorate them with patches of the skin of creatures that live in the unknown seas of the outer ocean. The dress of women differs from that of the men in two respects only: women often wear outer garments of linen ornamented with a purple pattern; and as the upper part of these is sleeveless, the whole of their arms, and indeed the parts of their breasts nearest the shoulders, are exposed.

(Tacitus, *Germania* 17; trans. Mattingly 1970, 115–116)

The Gallic people wear the 'sagus', let their hair grow long, and wear tight breeches; instead of tunics they wear slit tunics that have sleeves and reach as far as their private parts and buttocks.

(Strabo, *Geography* 4.4.3; trans. Jones 1923, 242)

Clothes have been found in a number of specific prehistoric contexts in Europe, mostly relating to conditions of exceptional preservation, such as the frozen conditions relating to the Tyrolean Iceman (Spinder 1994), which represents the very particular practical requirements of alpine conditions, or through wet-preservation. The preservation conditions of wetlands have facilitated the analysis of different types of textile including differentiations between fine-weave garments that might have been worn next to the skin and coarser, outer garments (e.g. Andrews *et al.* 2001, 27). Perhaps the most complete example of clothes within prehistory has come from a series of Bronze Age Danish burials excavated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Glob 1974). Here, wet anaerobic conditions led to the exceptional preservation of human remains, wooden coffins, associated objects, weapons and clothing. The clothing and textiles included a wide range of garments including hats and hairnets, woollen cloaks with associated fibulae, various styles of tunics and skirts, and leather shoes. The burials also included adornments, such as the bronze disk worn on a textile belt around the waist of the Egtved Girl, who also wore a short skirt made of cords rather than woven material (Glob 1974, 62–63; Figure 3.2).

Unfortunately, the wealth of information about clothing and appearance associated with these Bronze Age individuals is not forthcoming for subsequent periods of prehistory, with the evidence more strongly biased towards the exceptional deposition of bodies within bogs, commonly associated with an unnatural death. Whilst many of the later prehistoric bodies discovered from bogs in Europe have been found naked, or nearly naked, there has been an ongoing discussion of whether this represents how they were actually buried, or whether they wore plant fibres that would have disintegrated within the peat or were missed by excavators (cf. van der Sanden 1996, 121; Fischer 2012, 139). Where clothes do exist, they present compelling evidence of later prehistoric dress, and the methods by which they were manufactured (see van der Sanden 1996, chapter 9). The well-preserved example of the Huldremose Woman from Denmark revealed a skirt, a woollen shawl and two lambskin capes. These capes were worn with one on top of the other, one with the hairy side turned inside and the other with the hairy side turned outside to ensure that it was both warm and water repelling (Fischer 1998, 249). One challenge is determining whether the few clothes discovered within bogs represent normal dress for the period, given that material for comparison is generally lacking, in part due to shifts towards cremation burial during the period in northern Europe (van der Sanden 1996, 134). One factor that can be identified is the statistically high presence of clothing displaying faults in weaving, wear resulting in darning and mending (*ibid.*). Whilst this implies a certain longevity and care taken with clothing, the evidence is too limited to draw conclusions regarding its use as a symbolic representation of how an individual intended to be perceived.





Figure 3.2 The grave of the Egtved Girl showing her clothes, adornments and other grave goods. Photograph by Roberto Foruna and Kira Ursem.

Source: The National Museum of Denmark.

Some clothing represents military or martial status. A statue of an aristocratic Gallic warrior from Vachères in southern France dated to the late first century BC depicts the individual wearing a torc and a mail shirt. Mail is also evidenced from burials such as the examples from the Yorkshire Wolds (Stead 1991a). Within a barrow excavated at Kirkburn (K5), the individual was interred with a dismantled cart/chariot, along with an elaborate mail tunic inverted and draped over the body (Stead 1991a, 54–56), dating to 360 to 60 cal BC (Garrow *et al.* 2009, 116–117). Earlier mail tunics were discovered within the Hjortspring boat find from the island of Als in Jutland, Denmark, dating to the mid-late fourth century BC and, whilst the total number is unclear due to levels of preservation, estimates indicate between ten and twelve (Randsborg 1995, 26–30).

Headgear is represented archaeologically, from simple hairnets and caps preserved within peat bogs, through to martial equipment such as helmets, head-dresses and crowns, becoming increasingly common by the first century BC. The discovery of an imported Gallic helmet associated with a cremation dating to the first century BC found in Kent reflects this tradition of innovative helmet design, which might point to both intrinsic and warrior status, and it is noteworthy that an increasing number of examples displaying military equipment represent female individuals (see Farley *et al.* 2014). Helmets are also depicted on later Iron Age coinage, along with other types of headgear (see Creighton 2000, 185), which might imply status, and there are depictions of horse-riders wearing helmets on the Gundestrup cauldron, which also depicts other garments including cloaks, short trousers and belts (Klindt-Jensen 1959, 164). More elaborate headwear, perhaps indicative of crowns, have also been identified, for example, on a statue from the oppidum at Glauberg in Hesse, Germany, which had teardrop-shaped appendages on either side of, and extending above, its head. It is possible that this depiction was matched by iron rods, presumably originally covered by leather or cloth, from one of the graves at Glauberg (Fitzpatrick and Schönfelder 2014, 291).



Jewellery is less problematic in terms of the range of the evidence, but challenging in terms of meaning. Classical reference, such as Strabo's note that Gauls had a "love of decoration" wearing "ornaments of gold, torcs on their necks, and bracelets on their arms and wrists, while people of high rank wear dyed garments, besprinkled with gold" (Strabo, *Geography* 4.4.5, trans. Tierney 1960, 269). Bronze, silver and gold torcs are well represented within the archaeological record for later prehistory, particularly through hoards such as those found at Snettisham, Norfolk (Clarke and Dolley 1955; Burns 1971; Stead 1991b; Fitzpatrick 1992). However, the wearing of torcs is more strongly represented through depictions in art, including coins (cf. Creighton 2000, 109), statues and other representations such as on the Gundestrup cauldron. Statues such as the 'Dying Gaul', displayed in the Musei Capitolini in Rome, indicate that torcs were worn by a warrior, which, together with the wearing of armlets, is supported by classical writers such as Polybius (*The Histories*, 2.29) who noted that they often wore little other than these items. Similarly, the carved stone head from Mšecké Žehrovice in Bohemia depicted the individual wearing a torc around his neck (Megaw and Megaw 1988). It seems that the wearing of torcs was not gender specific, with both men and women wearing them (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 5.27.3); as noted by Stead (1991b, 459), Boudicca herself wore a torc (Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* 62.2.4). As items associated with status, the wearing of torcs provide symbols of power and control, both through the wearing of exotic and rare metals and through the craftsmanship displayed through their manufacture (see Stead 1991b). As noted earlier in relation to slavery, associations have been made between the wearing of torcs and ideas of enslavement and freedom, either demonstrating social differentiation, or perhaps by demonstrating servitude to a higher metaphysical superior (Taylor 2001).

Rich typologies of specific items such as fibulae, the use of which extends back into the Bronze Age, enable chronologies to be understood. It is remarkable that, from around 100 BC, there was a reduction in the use and deposition of ostentatious objects such as torcs, coinciding with a significant increase in the use, and deposition, of smaller objects such as fibulae; an event that has been referred to as the "fibula event horizon" (Hill 1995a, 121; see also Hill 1997; Gosden 2005, 203). This transformation towards the end of the Iron Age reflects shifts in social behaviour such as those demonstrated by the appearance of specific material culture associated with feasting, and changes in ritual and mortuary practice including increased gender differentiation (Hill 1995a, 121–122).

It remains debatable whether the clothes represented on depictions represent those worn by contemporaneous populations or imagined deities. Equally, where clothes are discovered in relation to human remains, it can rarely be established whether these were what were worn in life, or if individuals were dressed in specific ways for burial or sacrifice, although the evidence of worn and repaired clothing (e.g. van der Sanden 1996, 134) implies the former. Perhaps more challenging is the interpretation of the symbolism of clothing and adornment. As has been shown, certain objects, such as gold torcs, might be considered as symbols of wealth and status, on the basis of rarity of raw materials and craftsmanship

required for their production. Similarly, martial costume implies some level of symbolic or practical engagement in conflict, or status as a leader of those engaged in military activity.

Hair provides one of the most malleable and transformable parts of the human body, with the potential to express gender, status and religious beliefs, with some beliefs forbidding the cutting of hair. The symbolic power of hair was demonstrated by the shaving of prisoners' hair at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, following the events of 11 September 2001, and it has been noted that the shaving of a person's hair can be considered in a similar way to stripping them naked (Aldhouse-Green 2015, 150). When considering the nature of hairstyles, at least at the very end of prehistory, we can return to the passage by Caesar discussing the Britons, stating that "[they] shave the whole of their bodies except the head and the upper lip" (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 5.14; trans. Handford 1982, 111). In addition to Strabo's reference to the Gallic people wearing their hair long (*Geography* 4.4.3), other classical sources provide additional reflections on the wearing and treatment of hair during later prehistory:

Soap is ... an invention of the Gallic provinces for making the hair red. It is made from suet and ash, the best from beech ash and goat suet, in two kinds, thick and liquid, both being used among the Germans, more by men than by women.

(Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis* 28.51; trans. Jones 1963, 129–131)

The Gauls are very tall with white skin and blond hair, not only blond by nature but more so by the artificial means they use to lighten their hair. For they continually wash their hair in a lime solution, combing it back from the forehead to the back of the neck. This process makes them resemble Satyrs and Pans since this treatment makes the hair thick like a horse's mane.

(Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 5.28 trans. Oldfather 1939, 170–171)

Direct evidence of hairstyles, including facial hair, is limited to burial conditions that facilitate the preservation of organic material. For the preservation of hair, we are limited to wetlands and the human remains that have been discovered within peat bogs. Across the range of individuals that have been discovered, these bog bodies present a range of different hairstyles indicating variations that appear to reflect gender and status, in addition to possible circumstances of shaving. The range of hairstyles represented on male bog bodies is considerable. The Danish Tollund and Grauballe men both had short hair. For the former, dated to 375 to 210 cal BC (van de Plicht *et al.* 2004, 483), the hair beneath his cap was cut short, to between 20mm and 30mm in length, with very short stubble on his chin, upper lip and cheeks (Fischer 2012, 39). The hair on Grauballe Man, dated to 400 to 200 cal BC (Heinemeier and Asingh 2007), was longer, at around 90mm in length (Wilson *et al.* 2007). The Windeby II body, from Schleswig-Holstein, has

similarly short hair, approximately 20mm in length (Gill-Robinson 2005, 220). The body from Lindow Moss, Cheshire, England (Lindow II), dated to the first century AD (Gowlett *et al.* 1989; cf. van de Plicht *et al.* 2004, 472–473), also had short hair, between 10mm and 50mm in length, with beard hair between 6mm and 20mm long (Priston 1986). In the case of Lindow Man, the hair appears to have been cut off using scissors (Brothwell and Gill-Robinson 2001, 123). However, it is not clear whether these short hairstyles were worn by these individuals in life, or whether they reflect the cutting of hair prior to death.

A more elaborate hairstyle was encountered with the discovery in 2003 of Clonycavan Man from Ballivor, Co. Meath, Ireland, dating to 392 to 201 cal BC. At the back of the head, the hair was short, cut to about 25mm in length, whilst the rest of the hair was around 200mm long. The longer hair was gathered up on top of the head to form something akin to a quiff, held in place by what has been described as a sort of hair gel created from imported resin from either France or Spain (Kelly 2012, 234). A different, though distinctive hairstyle that is evidenced in both classical and archaeological sources is known as the Suebian Knot, particularly associated with the Suebi tribe of northern Germany.

It is a special characteristic of this nation to comb their hair sideways and tie it in a knot. This distinguishes the Suebi from the rest of the Germans, and, among the Suebi, distinguishes the freeman from the slave. Individual men of other tribes adopt the same fashion, either because they are related in some way to the Suebi, or merely because the imitative instinct is so strong in human beings; but even these few abandon it when they are no longer young. The Suebi keep it until they are grey-headed; the hair is twisted back so that it stands erect, and is often knotted on the very crown of the head. The chiefs use an even more elaborate style. But this concern about their personal appearance is altogether innocent. These are no love-locks to entice women to accept their advances. Their elaborate coiffure is intended to give them greater height, so as to look more terrifying to their foes when they are about to go into battle.

(Tacitus, *Germania* 38; trans. Mattingly 1970, 133)

This type of hairstyle is represented on a range of objects discovered both along the Roman border with the Germanic tribes and, to a lesser extent, from the broader Roman world (e.g. Juhász 2014), and Roman depictions including Trajan's column. Two bog bodies have been discovered wearing this particular hairstyle. The first of these was discovered in the form of a decapitated head wrapped in a deerskin cape in 1948 in a bog near Osterby in the Schleswig-Holstein region of Germany (van der Sanden 1996). Dating to cal AD 75 to 130 (van de Plicht *et al.* 2004, 485), the head revealed a Suebian Knot tied on the right-hand side of the head. A decade later, a second example was discovered near Dätgen (van der Sanden 1996), also in Schleswig-Holstein, dating to cal AD 135 to 385 (van de Plicht *et al.* 2004, 486). This example had also been decapitated, with the head lying approximately 3m from the rest of his body. The hair revealed a similar Suebian Knot hairstyle, although the hair had been gathered to a knot at the back

of the head (van der Sanden 1996, 145). Dätgen Man also displayed a 30–40mm long beard.

Female bog bodies display an equally broad range of hairstyles. Perhaps the most elaborate is that of Elling Woman, a body found in 1938 in Tollund Fen near Silkeborg in Denmark, dating to 355 to 205 cal BC (van der Plicht *et al.* 2004, 482; Figure 3.3). Elling Woman's hair was 90cm long, with an 80cm long elaborate plait (Fischer 2012, 88–91). As outlined by van der Sanden:

[T]he hair, with the exception of that at the back of the neck, had been gathered on top of the head and there it had been divided into three strands, which were plaited together. The neck hair was included further down, where the hair was split into seven strands, which were twisted and plaited together (2, 2 and 3). The plait ended in two twisted strands, which were plied. Then the long plait was 'shortened' by winding it twice around itself between the crown and the neck.

(van der Sanden 1996, 145)



*Figure 3.3* Elling Woman's elaborate hairstyle. Photograph by Lennart Larsen.

Source: The National Museum of Denmark.

Other elaborate hairstyles included coiled hair and the use of hairnets, hairbands and woollen cords, such as the individuals from Windeby, Yde, Haraldskær, Stidsholt and Huldremose.

Celtic art provides numerous depictions of hairstyles, although it has been noted that the vast majority of such images represent just the face pictured from the front, as if portrayed as a mask (Guštin 2014) and hence with little evidence for hairstyles. Sculptures of heads and entire human forms do exist, which provides some indication of hairstyles in a more complete way. Perhaps the best-known example of sculptured heads is the example from Mšecké Žehrovice in Bohemia, which displays a full moustache curling up to the sides in spirals, echoing similar patterns displayed in its eyebrows. The hair is depicted by ridges sweeping back from the forehead in a band running over the head from ear to ear and parted in the centre. The back of the head, however, is depicted with a cross-hatched roughening of the stone surface. Initially, it was assumed that the lack of hair depiction on the back of the stone head merely reflects that hair was just not represented in this area (e.g. Megaw and Megaw 1988, 631). More recently, however, it has been argued that it is more likely to represent shaving, particularly because the ears on the statue appear to be intended to be viewed from the side, which would render the ‘bald’ part of the head intentionally visible (Venclová 2002). This reading led to the possible interpretation of the stone head as representing a very different hairstyle more akin to a tonsure. The observation that other depictions, such as those on the Gundestrup cauldron, might echo tonsure-like hairstyles led to the conclusion that these might represent particular social status such as that of druids (Venclová 2002). Other hairstyles of both men and women are depicted on the Gundestrup cauldron, including ponytails, pigtails and a range of facial hair, including moustaches and full beards.

The re-interpretation of the hairstyle depicted on the stone head from Mšecké Žehrovice, and the potential for this being a repeated practice indicated by some of the figures represented on the Gundestrup Cauldron, provides an example of a transformation that is likely to have held particular social significance to a group regarding status within the community. However, there are instances within the archaeological record that have been interpreted as indicating that the use of hair cutting was a deliberate act of punishment. Tacitus provides a useful starting point, and likely genesis for such interpretations:

Adultery is extremely rare, considering the size of the population. A guilty wife is summarily punished by her husband. He cuts off her hair, strips her naked, and in the presence of kinsmen turns her out of his house and flogs her all through the village.

(Tacitus, *Germania* 19; trans. Mattingly 1970, 117)

Whilst it is not known whether the short hair on some bodies such as the Tollund, Grauballe and Lindow Men was cut as part of rituals associated with their deaths, there are indications from bog bodies that hair was sometimes cut at the time of death, or shortly before. Huldremose Woman, found in 1879 in Denmark, and

dating to 160 cal BC to cal AD 340, or more likely, to 210 to 41 cal BC (Mannerling *et al.* 2010, 266) is a good example of this. In this case, the hair had been cut off and was found close to the body (Fischer 1998, 249; Brothwell and Gill-Robinson 2002, 123). However, other examples are less clear. The Windeby I body, found in 1952, was originally considered to be that of a fourteen-year-old girl (Glob 1998, 112–115), but later identified as possibly a sixteen to eighteen-year-old boy from both metric analysis and DNA (Gill-Robinson 2005, 228–236). The hair was found to be approximately 40mm on the left side and just a few millimetres on the right side. It is unclear whether this is a result of accidental cutting during excavation or from cutting the hair shortly before death, although there is no report of hair being found near to the body (Gill-Robinson 2005, 224). It has also been suggested that the short hair on one side might reflect normal hairstyles of the period and region (Fischer 2012, 137). Yde Girl, discovered in 1897, is the body of a fourteen to sixteen-year-old girl who was strangled and deposited in a bog in Drenthe in the Netherlands (Fischer 1998, 255), dating to between 40 cal BC and cal AD 50 (van der Plicht *et al.* 2004, 486). Like the Windeby I body, her hair had also been cropped very short, although there remains debate about whether this was a factor relating to preservation.

Hair provides a tangible vehicle for the display of a range of social identities including age, gender and social standing. Whilst we are unlikely to know the details associated with the creation of elaborate hairstyles such as the Suebian knots seen on Dätgen Man or the Osterby head, Clonycavan Man's quiff, Elling Woman's and Huldremose Woman's plaits in terms of perhaps reaching adolescence, or achieving other recognised social status, we might assume that the act of creation had resonance socially to the communities involved. If it is assumed that these hairstyles held significance, then it is likely that they would have provided symbolic meaning throughout life. Whilst it may never be known if the short cut hair in evidence on bodies such as those of Tollund Man and Lindow Man represented their normal hairstyles or if they were cut prior to execution, their existence raises the potential for transformations that would have removed this sign prior to their death. If Huldremose Woman was a victim of human sacrifice, then the cutting of her hair might be seen as a symbolic act, given that the remaining hair on her head was partly wrapped around her neck (Brothwell and Gill-Robinson 2002, 123). In this respect, we might interpret two acts of breakage; the first expressed through cutting and discarding part of her hair, and the second through her death.

Classical sources provide a clear indication of other temporary transformations including what might now be termed body art, characterised by painting the body in patterns and colours. Writing in the first century, Pliny the Elder (*Historia Naturalis* 20.2) discussed the use of plants for the decorating and staining of the skin, noting that, in Britain, it was common for people to stain the whole of their bodies for the performance of specific rituals. Over a century earlier, Caesar noted how "All the Britons dye their bodies with woad [vitrum], which produces a blue colour" (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 5.14; trans. Handford 1982, 111). However, the distinction in translation between painting, dying, staining and tattooing is problematic (Carr 2005).



Unfortunately, direct archaeological evidence for this type of practice is very limited and does little to clarify things. A significant factor that limits the archaeological evidence is the lack of survival of the skin of individuals except for in exceptional circumstances, as is the fact that body painting is obviously a temporary transformation. Evidence from other sources such as contemporary art and coins does support the idea of skin decoration (e.g. Thomas 1963), and it has been suggested that artefacts such as cosmetic grinders might have been used, at least in Britain, for the preparation of dyes and pigments (Carr 2005). Where the potential for evidence does survive is in those specific and unusual cases where the skin of an individual survives. As a consequence, when bodies are discovered with flesh and skin surviving, they are commonly investigated for traces of dyes and paints on the skin. Following the discovery of the Lindow II bog body (Lindow Man), four samples were taken from the finger nails of the body to test for woad and other dyes, but no trace of indigo-based or mordant dyes was found (Taylor 1986). However, the discovery of a possible third body (Lindow III) in 1987 led to renewed investigations. X-ray micro-analysis of skin from the Lindow III body indicated high levels of aluminium, silica and copper, with traces of titanium and zinc, leading to the interpretation that the classical references to woad might be mistranslated, with woad perhaps only being used from the Saxon period onwards (Pyatt *et al.* 1991). Subsequent re-analysis of Lindow II revealed less significant levels of these elements, which could indicate different approaches to body painting, with the possibility that they represented different body painting practices (Pyatt *et al.* 1995). However, this interpretation has been questioned in relation to other possible factors that might explain the different levels of these elements in the two bodies (Cowell and Craddock 1995).

### **Permanent transformations**

In an anthropological study of tattooing, Alfred Gell noted that, despite the wide range of uses of tattooing, certain stages were universal (Gell 1993). First, the skin is punctured or wounded, with the inevitability of bleeding, and pigmented; second, the healing process takes place, including the formation of scabs and the development of scarring; finally, the tattoo itself becomes acquired. Hence, the process of becoming tattooed presents a series of events and circumstances that can each be interpreted as representing transformations. A fourth stage might be added prior to these three, involving the anticipation of tattooing, particularly given that acts such as tattooing, scarification and other body modifications are often associated with rites of passage (van Gennep 2011).

In addition to exploring the process of tattooing, Gell also noted variations in tattooing cultures between different types of social organisation. Within Polynesia, he identified three different political systems, which he termed conical, devolved and feudal. Conical societies displayed strongly hierarchical structures and ranked societies, with strong chiefs whose power permeates throughout the system. Devolved political systems were characterised as fragmented political systems with *big men* and horizontally oriented relationships, with a division between political



leadership and religious leadership. The final type, feudal societies, developed a marked split between common people and a divine-derived aristocracy. Whilst there are links between ranks of society, there is no direct interchange between levels, with a high level of bureaucracy. The relationships between these interpreted types of social structures and observed tattoos are not consistent. The role of tattooing is strong within both the conical and devolved structures with a strong visual form. However, tattooing was either weak or entirely absent from feudal societies. A fourth, though less distinct, political structure was also observed as a mixture of hierarchical and devolved systems, and within such societies tattooing was present, but not developed into a strong visual form.

Within this fourth, mixed social structure, Gell noted that the first stage of tattooing took a prominent role in ritual activity (i.e. wounding and bleeding), whereas the visual effect of the tattoo was less important. However, in conical societies, the tattoo was carried as a sign of dedication and submissive heroism, with emphasis on the healing process with the visible mark as evidence of enduring the act. Only within the devolved societies were tattoos seen as having aesthetic value. For feudal societies, the rare use of tattooing was undertaken separately from social articulation becoming a mere artefact without ritual function; bleeding merely a form of masochism. Essentially, across Polynesia, tattooing was seen as defining the middle ground of humanity distinct from the gods who were never tattooed. The tattoo defined the person in varying ways that reflected the broader social organisation within which they lived.

Within prehistory, the direct proof for tattooing is extremely limited and, as indicated by Gell, cannot be assumed without evidence. The earliest tattoos yet discovered from Europe were associated with the Chalcolithic body normally referred to as Ötzi, or the Tyrolean Iceman, discovered in the Ötztal glacier on the Alpine border between Italy and Austria in 1991 (Spindler 1994). Artefacts associated with the body, including a copper axe, indicated a Chalcolithic date, which was confirmed by radiocarbon dating indicating date ranges of 3370 to 3320 and 3230 to 3100 cal BC (Kutschera and Rom 2000). Analysis of stable isotopes indicated that he had grown up in the area to the south-east, within 50km (Kutschera and Müller 2003), before meeting a violent death in the mountains (Nerlich *et al.* 2003; Pernter *et al.* 2007; Nerlich *et al.* 2009). Ötzi's corpse revealed fifteen groups of tattoos, all located within less visible parts of the body, including his lower back, legs, right ankle and left wrist. None of the tattoos appeared to be ornamental, most were represented as groups of lines (commonly three short lines parallel to one another), and the analysis of skin material from the body using electron microscopy revealed that the pigment used in the tattooing was soot (Pabst *et al.* 2009). Assessment of the locations of these tattooing points revealed that nine of the fifteen were located on or within 5mm of recognised acupuncture points, relating to conditions that the Iceman suffered from including arthrosis of the lumbar spine (Dorfer *et al.* 1998).

Perhaps the most striking tattoos from prehistory come from the fifth century BC aristocratic graves in the Altai Mountains of southern Siberia, Asia, on the border of Russia and China (Rudenko 1970, Brilot 2000). At an altitude of 1500m

on the Ukok Plateau, excavations since the 1920s have revealed Scythian Iron Age tombs displaying exceptional levels of preservation due to the frozen conditions. Three of the bodies have revealed complex animal designs. The first of these, the Pazyryk Chief from burial mound 2 at Pazyruk, was a middle-aged man with designs covering both arms, areas of his chest and back, and his lower right leg (Rudenko 1970). In contrast with these elaborate tattoos, the man also had a line of point-like tattoos running down his spine, which, it has been suggested, might have had a therapeutic purpose (Rolle 1992). The subsequent discovery of a body subsequently called the 'Ice Maiden' in 1993 revealed similar designs on her upper and lower left arm (Brilot 2000), with a third example, discovered in 1995, of a man with similar, elaborate tattoos across his right shoulder (Brilot 2000).

Within Europe, prehistoric tattoos have been noted in relation to wet-preserved bog bodies. One of the early researchers on bog bodies, Alfred Dieck, published an article in 1976 providing examples of tattoos found on the bodies and faces of a number of Bronze and Iron Age bodies, including depictions of designs (Van der Sanden 1992, 63). However, Dieck's work largely focused on reports rather than the bodies themselves, and a number of discrepancies have emerged that suggest that the gazetteers that he produced and information about each of the bodies was uncritical of the evidence because, despite targeted research, no verifiable examples of tattoos on bog bodies have been identified. For example, shortly after the discovery of Lindow Man, infrared photography was undertaken but no hint of tattoos was apparent (Taylor 1986). A similar approach was used in the re-examination of Grauballe Man from Denmark, which also revealed no certain evidence of tattooing (Koch and Scharff 2007).

The evidence of Ötzi and the Pazyryk bodies demonstrates that tattooing was being used in Europe from at least the later fourth millennium BC onwards and potentially much earlier in Europe and certainly elsewhere, given an 8000-year-old example from South America (Allison 1996, Pabst *et al.* 2010<sup>3</sup>) and a 4000-year-old example from Egypt (Bianchi 1988). Other forms of inquiry offer little additional certainty in terms of prehistoric tattooing. Classical sources offer little additional information, although it has been noted that depictions on Gallic coinage from the later third and second centuries BC might indicate facial tattoos (Thomas 1963), and it has been suggested that artefacts such as cosmetic grinders might relate to the preparation of pigments for tattooing as well as body painting (Carr 2005).

The purposes and social meanings of tattooing can vary considerably. These can include marks of religious identity, body decoration or penal tattooing (of criminals, slaves and prisoners of war), sometimes used as a mark of disgrace or ridicule (Jones 1987). As Gell (1993) noted, the act of tattooing can be highly ritualised, reflecting the stages of the act of tattooing, healing<sup>4</sup> and presentation, with each stage having the potential for rich symbolism. The varying levels of elaboration of tattoos also indicate different levels of expertise, both in terms of the ability to depict the images and, if we accept the potential influence of medicinal approaches such as acupuncture, the ability to identify the precise positions for the marks. Other forms of permanent body modifications have the potential to have been practiced, although with very limited evidence due to the survival of

organic material. These include acts such as scarification and branding, or even practices such as circumcision or amputation. For these, the archaeological record is extremely limited, although factors such as amputation have been indicated in relation to medicine in subsequent periods (e.g. Redfern 2010).

## **Bodies in death**

Archaeology provides a direct avenue through the direct study of the remains of the dead but, as noted by Mike Parker Pearson, it is a “strange paradox that the physical remains of the dead ... are most likely to reveal information about the life of an individual and not about their death” (Parker Pearson 2003, 3). In some cases, it has been noted that the actual process of death is not immediate, with less of a distinction between being alive and being dead (e.g. Hertz 1960), leading to rituals that can take place over extended time periods. Within later prehistory, the evidence for the treatment of the dead is challenging because there is no single method in terms of burial, which includes cremation and inhumation, as well as secondary burial and the fragmentation of human remains. Furthermore, as for other periods, the funerary evidence only represents a minority of those individuals who lived, and so we can assume that the majority were disposed of in ways that are essentially invisible to archaeology. The causes of death during later prehistory also vary, with identifiable examples reflecting death from natural causes, from conflict and even from human sacrifice. In many cases, the nature of the evidence means that it is challenging to tell the difference between these. Even when there is damage to a skeleton, it can be hard to establish whether such injuries occurred prior to, at or shortly after death. Within the context of these innate challenges regarding the archaeological record, this section explores the multiple transformations relating to death in later prehistory. From cause of death, to treatment of the body, to secondary transformations and disposal, it explores themes of conflict, sacrifice and punishment, in addition to deposition, fragmentation and secondary deposition. It is argued that these processes reflect a multitude of transformations sharing a wide range of meanings and values for contemporary populations.

## **Conflict**

If we accept that the body represents a symbol whose destruction can be interpreted in terms of shifts in meaning (cf. Rambelli and Reinders 2012), then death or injury through conflict can be considered to be a direct transformation of such signs with resonance within contemporaneous communities. Interpretations of warfare and violence in prehistory centre on seven categories of evidence: defended sites such as hillforts, evidence for destruction of buildings such as through burning, osteological evidence of conflict, demographic patterns indicating high mortality of young males, mass graves, martial equipment and weaponry and iconographic representations of conflict (Parker Pearson 2005, 24). The nature of conflict during later prehistory has been debated, particularly against the backdrop of the very different character of warfare in Continental Europe in the

first century BC and Caesar's conquests. Prior to this, and beyond the geographical limits of Rome, warfare was probably endemic as part of the creation of social relationships. For individuals, it was a process through which status could be increased, such as through the successful leadership of raids. For communities, conflict provided the potential to demonstrate martial power and to extend ownership beyond their established boundaries (Cunliffe 2005, 541). Conflict is likely to have occurred around raids, staged battles in the open and attacks relating to defended structures such as hillforts. For the most part, it is assumed that conflicts were generally short-lived.

Whether conflict was aimed at annihilating an enemy, eliciting victory to take slaves or hostages, or to reach a political outcome such as control over resources, the evidence demonstrates that it generated casualties and life-changing injuries (Figure 3.4). Some of the evidence of Iron Age mass-killing examples, such as

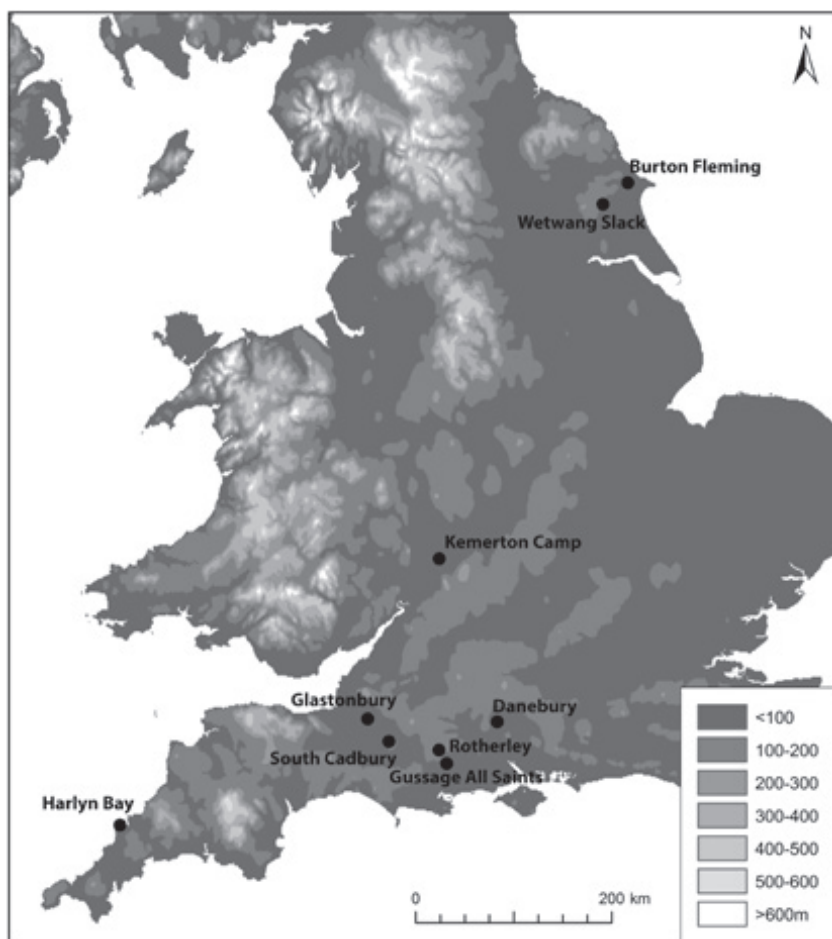


Figure 3.4 Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to conflict.

from Danebury or South Cadbury, has been likened to more recent instances of “revenge warfare” (Craig *et al.* 2005, 176). The balance between the intentions behind conflict will have shifted through time and would have been different for different regions. There is ample evidence for conflict from the osteological study of recovered human remains. In Yorkshire, at Burton Fleming and Wetwang Slack, spearheads were found embedded in the bodies of individuals of both genders (Dent 1983; Stead 1991a), although it has been noted that some of these wounds are likely to have been post-mortem (e.g. Giles 2015). Wounds to the head have been noted from a range of sites including Kemerton Camp in Worcestershire (Western and Hurst 2013), Danebury in Hampshire, Rotherley in Wiltshire, Gussage All Saints in Dorset, Harlyn Bay in Cornwall and Glastonbury in Somerset. At Danebury, whilst there is debate about whether some of the injuries were peri- or post-mortem, at least ten individuals revealed injuries from swords, and three of these revealed multiple injuries (Craig *et al.* 2005, 171). A study of 80 articulated and inhumed adults dating from the late Iron Age buried in the hillforts of Dorset revealed injuries relating to projectile weapons on both men and women (Redfern 2009). These represented impacts from a variety of weapons, including spears, sling-stones, pebbles and possibly arrows. The study showed a high level of injuries that had not been lethal, with healing indicating that “assaults using projectile weapons occurred several times in a person’s lifetime” (Redfern 2009, 417), which is also reflected in different levels of healed trauma identified elsewhere (e.g. King 2013). Furthermore, the locations of injuries indicated a high level of precision, with targeting of the face. The inclusion of both sexes and of adolescents (based on earlier, healed traumas) demonstrated that martial activity was not limited to just men, and so it seems that the burial evidence of associated martial equipment most commonly associated with male graves might relate to cultural factors in burial rather than activities in life.

Conflict provides an extremely direct sense of transformation, with the likelihood of associated emotions amongst mourners of either victory or defeat. In certain cases, it might be that the final rites are administered by an enemy (cf. Craig *et al.* 2005), as we cannot be certain who has always buried individuals. However, it is perhaps likely that, as with other forms of burial, the majority of individuals killed or injured in conflict are not visible within the archaeological record. We will return to aspects relating to the deposition of human remains later in this chapter.

## **Sacrifice, ceremony and punishment**

As with moments of conflict, the killing of an individual within a ceremonial context, whether for religious purposes or punishment, forces us to consider events in the distant past in unusually short time frames. An act of killing might take just seconds, and such short timescales contrast sharply with other measures of measuring time such as through radiocarbon dating, which might only provide a resolution of centuries. Hence, we might know what happened to an individual over seconds or minutes with some detail, but be unable to know for certain in which

century they were killed. Despite this temporal paradox, processes of ceremonial killings provide opportunities for exploring what the victims represented in life, both as individuals and through what they might have represented (as *icons*) and the detail of their transformation from being alive to being dead (as *-clasms*). Where preservation suffices, we might also be able to begin to interpret factors of intentionality, at least beyond the underlying intention to kill.

Classical authors provide a useful starting point when beginning to consider the evidence of human sacrifice and ceremonial/ritual killings during the later prehistoric period:

The customs of the Germans are entirely different. They have no Druids to control religious observances and are not much given to sacrifices. The only beings they recognise as gods are things that they can see, and by which they are obviously benefited, such as Sun, Moon, and Fire; the other gods they have never even heard of.

(Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 6.21; trans. Handford 1982, 143)

The mode of execution varies according to the offence. Traitors and deserters [are] hanged on trees; cowards, shirkers, and sodomites are pressed down under a wicker hurdle into the slimy mud of a bog. This distinction in the punishments is based on the idea that offenders against the state should be made a public example of, whereas deeds of shame should be buried out of men's sight.

(Tacitus, *Germania* 12; trans. Mattingly 1970, 111)

And in pursuance of their savage ways they manifest an outlandish impiety also with respect to their sacrifices; for their criminals they keep prisoner for five years and then impale in honour of the gods, dedicating them together with many other offerings of first-fruits and constructing pyres of great size. Captives also are used by them as victims for their sacrifices in honour of the gods. Certain of them likewise slay, together with the human beings, such animals as are taken in war, or burn them or do away with them in some other vengeful fashion.

(Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 5.32.6, trans. Oldfather 1939, 184)

As a nation the Gauls are extremely superstitious; and so persons suffering from serious diseases, as well as those who are exposed to the perils of battle, offer, or vow to offer, human sacrifices, for the performance of which they employ Druids. They believe that the only way of saving a man's life is to propitiate the god's wrath by rendering another life in its place, and they have regular state sacrifices of the same kind. Some tribes have colossal images made of wickerwork, the limbs of which they fill with living men; they are then set on fire, and the victims burnt to death. They think that the gods prefer the execution of men taken in the act of theft of brigandage, or guilty of some

offence; but when they run short of criminals, they do not hesitate to make up with innocent men.

(Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 6.16; trans. Handford 1982, 141–142)

Amongst [the Gauls] there are generally three divisions of men especially revered, the Bards, the Vates, and the Druids. The Bards composed and chanted hymns; the Vates occupied themselves with the sacrifices and the study of nature; while the Druids joined to the study of nature that of moral philosophy. The belief in the justice [of the Druids] is so great that the decision both of public and private disputes is referred to them; and they have before now, by their decision, prevented armies from engaging when drawn up in battle-array against each other. All cases of murder are particularly referred to them. When there are plenty of these they imagine there will likewise be a plentiful harvest. Both these and the others assert that the soul is indestructible, and likewise the world, but that sometimes fire and sometimes water have prevailed in making great changes.

(Strabo, *Geography* 4.4, trans. Jones 1923, 246)

Classical authors provide a rich context for beginning to interpret the killing of people within what may be referred to as ceremonial contexts, with the implications of audience. Across these authors, we find a range of different explanations regarding who is being sacrificed, whether criminals, prisoners or members of the community. They also refer to different methods, with Tacitus revealing alternative methods of killing relating to different crimes (Tacitus, *Germania* 12), and Diodorus Siculus, Caesar and Strabo noting the concept of human sacrifice aimed at appeasing the gods (e.g. (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 6:16.4–5; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 5.32.6; Strabo, *Geography* 4.4.5). Even when considered with due caution, these authors indicate that human sacrifice took place during later prehistory, that it was practiced on criminals, prisoners and members of the community, and that the act of killing took a range of different forms. Defining the precise rationale for individual examples is challenging, particularly when considered in isolation to the nature of deposition of the body, and this is made even more problematic due to the limited archaeological evidence for such activities. It is likely that the intentionality behind any ceremonial event will have been variable. Beyond the hard to read meta-intentionality, which might include themes such as punishment, appeasement of the gods or to guarantee a good harvest, it is possible to define a lower level series of intentions. First, there is the intention to kill, and it is possible that this would be associated with varying levels of discomfort to the individual from the use of narcotics to dull pain, or the application of a rapid method, through to an extended event aimed at causing maximum pain, each implying different intentions. As a ceremony, there might be the intention to provide a dramatic show, or conversely, to conceal the act. With an association with metaphysical intentions, a human sacrifice might be used as a gift, or as a method of divination, such as through the observation of death throes.



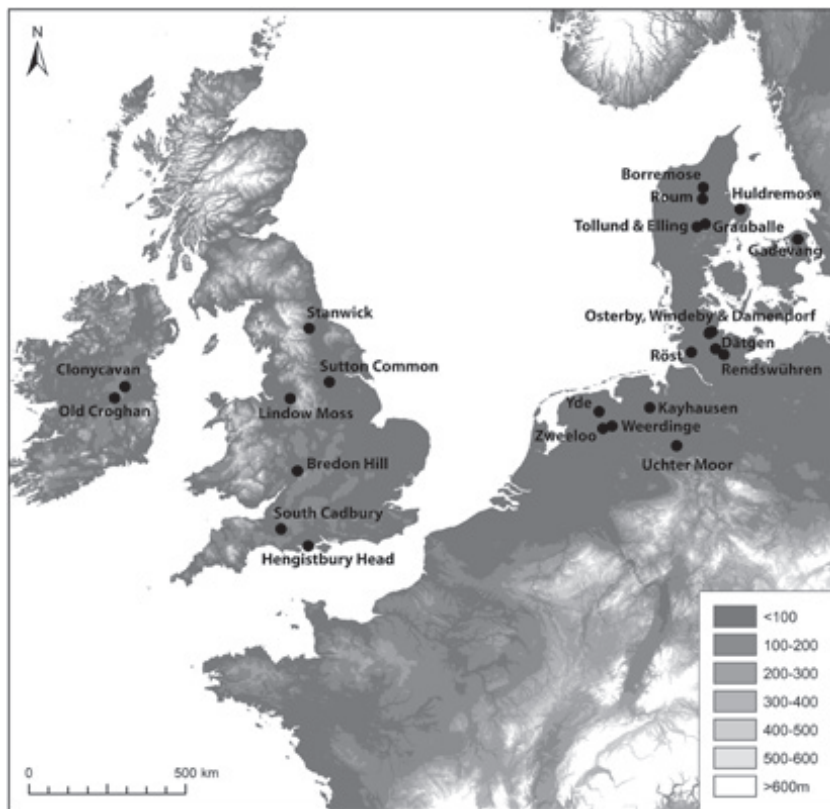


Figure 3.5 Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to human sacrifice.

Examples from the archaeological record centre on human remains, the majority of which are skeletal. However, the evidence from bog bodies, which commonly present a higher level of survival of soft tissue, is particularly useful, despite being limited to representing the particular circumstances of preservation relating to their burial environments. We will begin by exploring the choice of individuals for sacrifice, before examining the process of death itself, from the perspective of discomfort or pain and, subsequently, the show within the ceremony. By the necessity of preservation, much of the discussion will focus on preserved examples where forensic examination is possible, although other examples will be drawn upon for comparison (Figure 3.5).

### Victims as ‘icons’

From the physical evidence displayed on human remains it can be challenging to define which bodies represent victims of ceremonial killings, whether driven by sacrificial or punishment intentions, and which might reflect death from other

contexts (for example, it has been proposed that at least some bog bodies might actually reflect the victims of mugging or combat; Connolly 1985). This challenge is further complicated by the likelihood that any act of killing might have served numerous purposes; a criminal might have been killed as a punishment, but this might also have served a religious purpose as a sacrifice to the gods. For later prehistoric bog bodies, there is good evidence to suggest for many of them that they suffered particular processes of killing and deposition that are likely to have been performed within ceremonial conditions. From these, it is possible to begin exploring patterns in terms of who these individuals might have been in life, including themes of age, gender, health/disability and status.

From the range of bog bodies that might have been the victims of sacrificial or ceremonial activities, the age of the individuals varies considerably (see Brothwell and Gill-Robinson 2002, 121). The youngest example is that of the Röst Girl discovered in the Schleswig-Holstein area of Germany in 1926. Dating to 200 to 95 cal BC (van der Plicht *et al.* 2004, 485), the girl is likely to have been between two and three years old when she died, although the actual cause of death is unknown, and the body no longer survives. A more secure victim of sacrifice is Kayhausen Boy, discovered in the Lower Saxony region of Germany in 1922. Dating to the Iron Age, between the fourth and second centuries BC (see van der Plicht 2004, 476, 483–484), the boy had been bound and stabbed several times in his throat and arm. Although originally thought to have been between eight and fourteen years old when he was killed, more recent assessment has indicated that he was approximately six and a half years old when he died (Pieper 2003, 111). Similarly, Yde Girl, from the Netherlands and dating to between 40 cal BC and cal AD 50 (van der Plicht 2004, 486) was between fourteen and sixteen years old when she was killed by strangulation. The Windeby body (Windeby I), dating to 150 to 135 and 115 to 0 cal BC (van der Plicht *et al.* 2004, 485–486), was originally considered to be a girl around thirteen or fourteen years old when killed by strangulation (Glob 1998, 112–115), although re-interpretation has shown the body to be that of a male aged between sixteen and eighteen years old at the time of death (Gill-Robinson 2005, 230). The Girl from Uchter Moor, found in Lower Saxony, Germany, in 2000 and 2005, is likely to have been at the very end of her teen years when she died in the seventh century BC, although the limited remains preclude interpretation of whether this was through violence or accidental (van der Sanden 2013, 409). It has been noted that, whilst it is impossible to obtain accurate statistics, there appears to be a very high proportion of older children represented by bog bodies, between the ages of twelve and sixteen years old (Van der Sanden 1996, 82), although children still remain in the minority, with the majority of victims being adults. Whilst for many of the bodies age estimates are not possible beyond stating that they represent adults, the range in ages might extend up to sixty years old, as suggested by the Osterby head, although recent re-analysis of the remains was unable to confirm or dispute this (Gill-Robinson 2005, 206). Table 3.2 provides a breakdown of the ages of a selection of bodies discovered from bogs across northern Europe.

Table 3.2 Ages at the time of death of a selection of bog bodies

<i>Name</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Estimated Age at death</i>
Röst Girl	Schleswig-Holstein, Germany	200–95 cal BC (van der Plicht <i>et al.</i> 2004)	Female	2–3
Kayhausen Boy	Lower Saxony, Germany	515–385 cal BC; 355–295, 255–115 cal BC; 380–355, 295–210 cal BC (van der Plicht <i>et al.</i> 2004)	Male	8–14
Yde Girl	Drenthe, Netherlands	40 cal BC–cal AD 50 (van der Plicht <i>et al.</i> 2004)	Female	14–16
Windeby I	Schleswig-Holstein, Germany	150–135 and 115–0 cal BC (van der Plicht <i>et al.</i> 2004)	Male	16–18
Uchter Moor Girl	Lower Saxony, Germany	764–515 cal BC (Püschel <i>et al.</i> 2005)	Female	16–19
Lindow III	Cheshire, England	1st or 2nd century AD (Housley <i>et al.</i> 1995)	Unknown	22
Lindow II	Cheshire, England	1st century AD (van der Plicht <i>et al.</i> 2004)	Male	20–30
Clonycavan Man	Co. Meath, Ireland	392–201 cal BC (Kelly 2012)	Male	20–30
Old Croghan Man	Co. Offaly, Ireland	362–175 cal BC (Kelly 2012)	Male	20–30
Borremose Woman 1948	Jutland, Denmark	416–209 cal BC (Mannering <i>et al.</i> 2010)	Female	20–35
Elling Woman	Jutland, Denmark	355–205 cal BC (van der Plicht <i>et al.</i> 2004)	Female	30
Grauballe Man	Jutland, Denmark	c. 400–200 cal BC (Heinemeier and Asingh 2007)	Male	30
Dätgen Man	Schleswig-Holstein, Germany	cal AD 135–385 (van der Plicht <i>et al.</i> 2004)	Male	30
Zweeloo Woman	Drenthe, Netherlands	cal AD 78–233 (Bianucci <i>et al.</i> 2012)	Female	35
Tollund Man	Jutland, Denmark	375–210 cal BC (van der Plicht <i>et al.</i> 2004)	Male	30–40
Gadevang Man	Zealand, Denmark	480–60 BC (Sellekvold <i>et al.</i> 1984)	Male	35–50
Huldremose Woman	Jutland, Denmark	210–41 cal BC (Mannering <i>et al.</i> 2010)	Female	Over 40
Osterby Head	Schleswig-Holstein, Germany	cal AD 75–130 (van der Plicht <i>et al.</i> 2004)	Male	Adult
Windeby II	Schleswig-Holstein, Germany	380–185 cal BC (Fischer 2012)	Male	Adult
Damendorf Man	Schleswig-Holstein, Germany	cal AD 345–535 (van der Plicht <i>et al.</i> 2004)	Male	Adult
Rendswühren Man	Schleswig-Holstein, Germany	95 cal BC–cal AD 208, cal AD 131–326, cal AD 352–580 (Gill-Frerking 2014)	Male	Adult

Similar to the ages of the victims at the time of death, the gender of these individuals does not seem to reveal strong trends, with both male and female victims being present across the age ranges, although the overall pattern indicates that the former were more frequently chosen (Brothwell and Gill-Robinson 2002, 111). However, there do appear to be indications relating to the choice of victims based on particular unusual health and disability factors. Again, whilst statistical approaches are not appropriate given the incomplete nature of the record, there is a relatively high proportion of victims that reveal physical evidence of either deformity or health problems other than those associated with age and mechanical stress such as arthritis (e.g. Lindow II) and osteoporosis (e.g. Elling Woman). Lindow III revealed evidence of pre-axial polydactyly; a second, smaller thumb on the surviving right hand. Yde Girl, from the Netherlands, suffered from idiopathic scoliosis, affecting the curvature of the spinal column, which resulted in an asymmetrical gait. Zweeklo Woman displayed a condition that might have been dyschondrosteosis, resulting in shortened forearms and lower legs (van der Sanden 1996, 138–143). It might be that other illnesses were present in some individuals that cannot be identified archaeologically through the forensic examination of the body, such as mental conditions, and these can only be speculated upon. It might be that these conditions influenced the choice of individuals that were killed, as being different, perhaps seen as either blessed or cursed. If this was the case, then it is also possible that such characteristics not only represented the conditions experienced by the individual, but were also seen as symbolic of the benevolent or malevolent agency that they represented. Hence, the sacrifice of the individual might have been seen as also the destruction or dedication of these broader symbols.

The status of the individuals selected for killing also provides a considerable range, and it is possible to draw false conclusions because it is not always appropriate to link physical characteristics of the bodies to their status in life. For example, the act of killing might require particular ceremonial characteristics and preparations that would not otherwise be performed. It has already been shown that the victims of sacrifice consisted of males and females of a wide range of ages, including children. Furthermore, the individuals chosen for sacrifice (if we assume that they represent choice rather than selection due to having committed a crime or been prisoners) appear to have significant levels of difference from standard populations in terms of health issues and deformity. It is possible, and perhaps likely, that such individuals would have held a different status to others within the community, as blessed or cursed and hence suitable subjects for sacrifice. Alternatively, status might be interpreted from an economic perspective within which some disabilities might be associated with a reduced ability to be productive within the context of a society's needs. From this, more prosaic standpoint, the choice of an individual for sacrifice might be seen as pragmatic. Clearly, the two are not mutually exclusive and, in practice, it is likely that the truth behind the selection of individuals for acts of sacrifice is far more complex.

Other evidence for status can be identified from well-preserved bog bodies. With the case of Clonycavan Man discovered in Co. Meath, Ireland, in 2003, the

evidence for the individual having had a high status in life was provided by the gel-like substance that had been applied to his hair consisting of resin imported from either France or Spain. Dating to 392 to 201 cal BC, the evidence of this imported material suggests a certain level of rarity and exclusivity, which led to his interpretation as a high-status person (Kelly 2012, 235). The body of Old Croghan Man, discovered the same year, and dated to 362 to 175 cal BC, provided less tangible evidence due to only the torso and arms being present, although his grand stature and similarities in mutilation to that of Clonycavan Man (cutting of nipples, see below) led to a similar high-status interpretation, perhaps as deposed kings (Kelly 2012, 239; van der Sanden 2013, 409). The hands of both individuals revealed well-manicured fingernails and an apparent absence of wear or callouses, indicting a lack of manual labour in life. Similar evidence from Lindow II showed microscopically smooth nails that were in sharp contrast with comparison samples from an agricultural labourer, leading to the conclusion that he did not undertake manual labour, at least during the weeks prior to his death (Brothwell and Dobney 1986, 70). However, there have been suggestions that, for his fingerprints, the apparent lack of wear might just indicate the loss of the surface layers of the skin in the burial environment leading to a record of falsely clean fingerprints, which might not actually represent the level of labour experienced in life (Parker Pearson 1986, 16). Coupled with the evidence for arthritis in the lower back of the Lindow II body, which might relate to either to age (although he was between twenty and thirty years old when he died) or mechanical stress from labour (van der Sanden 1996, 138).

Recent analysis of trace elements associated with bog bodies has revealed further indications of status. Perhaps most intriguing are the results associated with Damendorf Man from Schleswig-Holstein in Germany. Dating to cal AD 345 to 535 (van der Plicht *et al.* 2004), this adult male was killed by extensive stabbing. The results from the trace elements analysis of this body revealed high levels of mercury and lead, and it was suggested that these might reflect that he was a metal-smith and, in particular, involved in the gilding of gold and silver (Gill-Robinson 2005, 183–185).

Status of the individuals chosen for sacrifice within bogs has been indicated by comparison with classical sources. Within Tacitus' *Germania*, two particular references have been used in this respect. The first (*Germania* 12) is the only direct reference to the practice of placing humans in bogs and suggests that such acts represent victims of punishment for crimes including cowardice and homosexuality. The second reference (*Germania* 19) provides detail on punishments administered by the husband for acts of adultery, including the cutting of hair, stripping naked and flogging. These details from written sources such as these have led to some direct interpretations of bog bodies in relation to the status of individuals being deposited. When the two bodies were discovered at Windeby on separate occasions, but in close proximity, in 1952, the initial interpretation of Windeby I as a teenage girl (Glob 1998, 112) and Windeby II as an adult man led to the conclusion that the two had been lovers engaged in a clandestine affair that was subsequently punished (cf. Fischer 2012, 135). However, radiocarbon dating demonstrated that the

second body was considerably older than the first, dating to the around 385 to 185 BC, and that Windeby I was, in fact, male.

It remains possible that some of the individuals discussed here were not part of a ceremonial sacrifice and for many bodies, such as the girl from Uchter Moor, the cause of death is not known. Similarly, it cannot be assumed that all bog bodies represent the same practice with the same overarching intentions. However, in the cases where the evidence is clear for intentional and deliberate killing, the range of victims extends across age, gender, physical ability and status. In life, these individuals would have been seen by their communities in different ways and hence, through their untimely demise through public ceremonial killing, they would have represented the breakage of what their differences represented, in addition to their loss as individuals or as part of the community. From the possible deposed kings of the Clonycavan and Old Croghan Men, to the goldsmith Damendorf Man, or the young disabled Yde Girl, or even captured enemies or condemned convicts, the killing of these individuals was transformative. In some instances, this might have been to remove a perceived physical or metaphysical threat or to appease the gods, but in all cases, these public killings would have held resonance to the communities who observed the events or were aware of what was happening. The breaking of these individuals would have had impact well beyond the moment in time and the actors in space that performed the deed.

### **Pain, suffering and the moment of death**

The act of killing an individual marks a dramatic transformation from life to death. The mode of killing is significant in that it highlights the way in which this transformation will have been experienced by the victim as well as by those performing the act and any audience observing it. This significance can be interpreted by focusing on the cause of death, and particularly through the examination of the potential levels of discomfort and pain that might have been suffered by the victims. Classical sources indicate that high levels of suffering could be experienced by victims, such as through the horrifying process of burning them alive within wicker structures (e.g. Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* VI.16). Whilst no archaeological evidence has yet been found to support such statements, such stories paint a vivid picture of the potential for high levels of discomfort within sacrificial contexts. Where archaeological evidence does exist for the ceremonial killing of individuals, the methods used vary considerably. Returning to the rich evidence provided by the well-preserved bog bodies found in wetlands, we find a range of methods of killing. For some of the many examples, there remain debates about whether different injuries were sustained at the time of death or afterward, as processes associated with the weight of peat overlying the body, or even damage caused by peat-cutting activities or through excavation. For example, it was thought until recently that the cause of death of Borremose Woman 1947 was a heavy, violent blow to the head that crushed the face and tore off the scalp. However, recent pathological investigations indicate that this damage was more likely to have occurred



due to the pressure of the bog (Gill-Robinson 2005; Fischer 2012, 129–130). Similar conclusions have been reached for other bodies such as Grauballe Man. In this case, a broken left tibia and a fractured skull were initially considered as potentially being to prevent him escaping and to knock him unconscious respectively in advance of slitting his throat (Glob 1998, 48–49). However, re-assessment has shown that the cranial injury was post-mortem and resulted from the pressure of overburden within the burial environment, whilst it is uncertain whether the leg injury could have occurred either at the time of death or directly afterwards (Gregersen *et al.* 2007, 241–246; Fischer 2012, 130–132). As more bodies are re-assessed and some injuries are discounted, it might be that the apparent ‘overkill’ of these victims was less prevalent than previously assumed.

A seemingly repeated practice regarding the cause of death of bog bodies is that of hanging or strangulation. A deep furrow around the neck of Elling Woman, accompanied by a leather halter, provided evidence that she had died through hanging (Fischer 2012, 87–88). Similarly, Tollund Man, recovered from an area close to where Elling Woman had been discovered twelve years earlier, was found with a braided leather cord with a running noose around his neck. A deep furrow around his neck, except for the back, indicated that he had been hanged, even though x-rays revealed no significant spinal damage (Fischer 2012, 44–45). Hanging and strangulation have also been observed on bodies including Yde Girl, discovered in Drenthe in the Netherlands, who was strangled with a woollen band wrapped three times around her neck with a sliding knot (van der Sanden 1996, 155). Other examples include Borremose Man and Windeby II, the latter performed using a hazel branch.

Another method of killing that is repeatedly found on bog bodies is stabbing. In addition to being strangled, Yde Girl had been stabbed near her left clavicle, and Kayhausen Boy was also found to have been stabbed repeatedly, presumably whilst bound (van der Sanden 1996, 161). The evidence from Dätgen Man provided a more complex series of events. The body revealed two stab wounds to the chest, one of which penetrated into the heart, providing a most likely cause of death (Gill-Robinson 2005, 263). However, he had also been decapitated, and a head was found three metres from his body just six months after its discovery. Finds of severed heads such as that of Roum Man from Himmerland, Denmark, and Osterby Man from Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, might have encountered a similar fate. This multiple mode of killing indicated by Yde Girl and Dätgen Man, amongst others, has been observed elsewhere, such as in the case of Lindow II. Whilst a stab wound to the chest could not be confirmed due to localised poor preservation, forensic examination revealed multiple methods of killing (West 1986). From this report, it is likely that events commenced with two deep wounds to the crown of the head, probably administered by an axe. Swelling of the wounds from this indicates that it did not kill the individual instantly, but would have rendered him unconscious. Perhaps after this, he was garrotted with a narrow cord and had his throat slit with a knife, before being placed facedown in the bog.

A peculiar addition to the list of bog bodies are the two examples discovered in Ireland in 2003 (Kelly 2012). Old Croghan Man was killed by a stab to the



chest, but his left arm was also cut, indicating a possible defence wound. He was decapitated and his thorax was severed from his abdomen, and he had cuts through his biceps through which withies had been passed. Both Old Croghan Man and Clonycavan Man had their nipples partially cut and, although it is not clear whether these mutilations took place before or after death, they demonstrate the potential for some extremely painful and alarming injuries to be carried out during the destruction of the individual. Clonycavan Man was killed by “a series of blows to his head and chest, from a heavy, edged weapon, probably an axe” (Kelly 2012, 236) in addition to a long cut to his abdomen, which might mean that he suffered disembowelment. The lower part of his body was not preserved, presumably removed by peat-cutting equipment. The probable disembowelling of Clonycavan Man is not unique. Of the two Weerdinge bodies discovered in Drenthe in the Netherlands, only one was sufficiently well-preserved to provide evidence of his cause of death, and initially the poor preservation meant that the two men were considered to be a man and a woman (Glob 1998, 110). The individual sufficiently well preserved to provide this evidence had a large cut across the left side of his chest through which his intestines had been pulled (van der Sanden 1996, 161). It is possible that this was a similar example of disembowelling. Whilst further evidence from the Weerdinge bodies is limited due to preservation, this does indicate an equally painful method of killing.

These violently delivered deaths provide some indication of pain, particularly in relation to the Weerdinge Men and the two examples from Ireland. However, other causes of death might not have presented such levels of pain and discomfort, other than the clear psychological pressure assuming they knew what was to happen to them. Hanging and strangulation might take up to twenty minutes to cause death, but will cause unconsciousness within seconds due to cutting off the supply of blood to the brain (van der Sanden 1996, 155). Slitting the throat, particularly if the carotid artery is severed, will result in death in a matter of minutes, but will render the victim unconscious much faster due to the reduction in the flow of oxygen to the brain. With decapitation, the victim will probably lose consciousness immediately. Even in the example of Lindow Man, if we assume that the first of the blows delivered were those to the head, this would have rendered him unconscious (West 1986).

The potential that the victims of sacrifice might have been rendered unconsciousness quite rapidly within the process indicates that the acts of killing were perhaps less barbaric than might be first assumed, at least in terms of the length of time during which the victim experienced extreme pain. Coupled with this, there is a limited amount of evidence to suggest that painkillers were sometimes taken, either by accident or administered. The stomach contents of Grauballe Man revealed that he had consumed large quantities of a fungus associated with cereals; the sclerotia or spore capsules of *Claviceps purpurea* (ergot), which would have meant that he would have been experiencing hallucinations, convulsions and burning sensations in his mouth and extremities, perhaps even in a coma or dead when his throat was slit (van der Sanden 1996, 118). It is also possible that the identification of an extremely small quantity of mistletoe pollen identified

within the gut of Lindow II (Scaife 1986, 131–132) might have had a similar narcotic effect. Whilst the evidence is slim, these examples, coupled with the apparent speed of killing, indicate the possibility for the management of pain and suffering within ceremonial killing. The presence of other substances that might manage pain have been found elsewhere, such as from Hengistbury Head, Dorset, where the relaxant chamomile and opium poppy seeds were found, potentially used within prehistoric medicine (Redfern 2009, 445), although it is possible that knowledge of the properties of such plants might have played a role in human sacrifice.

### **The show**

If it is assumed that at least some of the examples discussed relate to ceremonial killings, it is important to consider the audience who would have observed and potentially participated in proceedings. Through any act of breakage, as with the ceremonial killing of individuals or groups, it can only make sense within the context of the experiences of audiences and the ways in which these actions impact upon their senses of meaning and value regarding the life being lost and the process through which it is taken. Such experience does not happen merely at the moment of killing. The event is prefaced by expectation, through knowledge of what is to come and anticipation of how it might happen. This might be impacted upon through particular ways of acting. In regions where capital punishment persists, this can be seen through rituals such as the prisoner's last meal, the reading of the last rites or the procession to the site of execution. Theatres of execution might also be arranged in order to elicit certain emotive reactions at the time of death.

The example of Lindow II provides some compelling evidence relating to these events, both before and during the moment of death. Lindow II's stomach contents revealed that his last meal probably consisted of a bread formed of barley and wheat (Hillman 1986, 110), in contrast to the complex mixtures of wild seeds and cereal grain that contributed to the gruel that formed the final meals of both Tollund Man and Grauballe Man (van der Sanden 1996, 108–110). It is possible that the preparation was a part of the ceremony, anticipating its outcome, and known to the wider community. It has even been suggested that the presence of charred bread that contributed to Lindow II's last meal might indicate a ritual of selecting the victim for sacrifice (Ross 1986). These interpretations indicate a longer-term process that would have been understood and felt by the community, providing subjects for discussion (or perhaps the opposite) as well as anticipation prior to the event. Movement to the site of execution would also have impacted upon the experience of those involved in the event. Previous work on Lindow Moss (Leah *et al.* 1997) has provided archival evidence that was subsequently used to model the distances from dryland to the site of execution. This modelling revealed that the location chosen was well away from the edge of the contemporaneous bog, in perhaps one of the most inaccessible areas of the landscape (Chapman 2015). Furthermore, the palaeoenvironmental evidence from the site indicates that the surface of the bog had become increasingly wet prior to the time

of deposition (Barber 1986; Oldfield *et al.* 1986; Branch and Scaife 1995), leading to a hazardous landscape for movement across it. Whilst it is not clear whether the lack of evidence for clothing associated with Lindow II other than a fox fur armband is due to him being naked at the time of sacrifice, the potential that he was killed in the winter,<sup>5</sup> or at least when the weather was cold, would only add to the unusualness of the spectacle.

When the time came for his sacrifice, the method of killing provides further indication of audiences. Examination of the events requires a minimum number of participants. To administer the axe blows to the top of Lindow II's head probably required him to be in a kneeling position. Once struck, he would certainly have fallen unconscious and thus would have required assistance to keep him upright whilst the subsequent stages of the event took place. It is possible that this was achieved using the cord around his neck, assuming it was wrapped around him prior to execution. As detailed in the forensic report, the subsequent combination of garrotting using the cord and slitting his throat would have provided considerable dramatic effect:

The haemorrhage from this wound would, of course, be accentuated if pressure on neck was being applied by a garrote as the venous bleeding which would occur when the jugular vein is cut would be caused by blood coming back from the head, not blood going to the head. Twisting of the garrote below the incision would, providing the carotid arteries had not been closed, still allow blood to pass into the head via the arteries, and would accentuate the bleeding from a cut jugular vein. It would also obstruct the other jugular vein, causing all the blood to run via the cut vein.

(West 1986, 79)

For Lindow II, the sequence of events over perhaps twenty-four hours can be determined, with indications of earlier longer-term trends, such as his status and diet in life. In this example, it is possible to see a clear sense of staged activities leading to a grand finale, and similar sequences reflecting intentionally choreographed ceremonies might be seen in other instances. The frequency of hanging as a method of killing presupposes a high level of visibility of the individual prior to being cut down and placed in the bog. Bodily mutilations and decapitation would have been equally dramatic, and it has been suggested that acts such as disembowelling might relate to methods of divination following classical sources such as Strabo (*Geography* 4.4.5). Eamonn Kelly (2012) has suggested that the cutting of the nipples of Clonycavan Man and Old Croghan Man might indicate deposing kings. Within the context of early medieval texts, he has indicated that nipples were required for kingship with suckling of a king's nipples being indicative of subordination and so, to cut the nipples would be to remove the king's power. If this is the case, then we might see high levels of symbolism in different acts of bodily mutilation that would have been understood by audiences and which would have held meaning above and beyond the pain and suffering during the act. The withies passed through cuts in the arms of Old Croghan Man (see Kelly 2012) provide the tantalising potential that he might have even been suspended.

## **Human sacrifice as iconoclasm**

The evidence from bog bodies alone provides an unusual glimpse into the time-scales relating to the process of killing, from their last meal through to their final seconds of life, which lies in stark contrast to the statistical uncertainty of the date of their deaths. The people chosen for sacrifice might have been enemies, perceived metaphysical threats (e.g. hierophobia) or drawn from within the community. They represent different types of status, from leaders and artisans to the disabled and infirmed. The selection of victims seems far from arbitrary, and it is likely that they symbolised more than the individuals themselves, whether as signs of leadership, power, divinity or the taboo. It is unlikely that the acts of killing were solely about the death of the individual, but rather they were about the destruction of what the victim was seen to represent in symbolic terms. The indication that, through the potential use of narcotics through to the modes of killing, and hence the possibility that the individuals suffered less pain and perhaps stress than first observations of their injuries might suggest, provides an alternative view on the ways in which these processes were carried out. Whether the former was to calm down the victim to provide a more suitable subject for the ceremony, or such administering was through mercy (or even symbolic) we might never know. However, it does present certain differences when we begin to interpret the impact of the event on contemporaneous communities. By the time these individuals were killed, having been chosen and, in some cases, undergone certain rituals such as relating to their final meal, they had already become separate and different; perhaps symbolic of something more than they were in life. At the moment of sacrifice, it was not only the human life that was being destroyed, but the powerful symbols that it had come to represent.

In terms of sacrifice or ceremonial killing of people, bog bodies are not unique. For example, decapitation that might have been associated with ritual activities has been suggested for sites including Bredon Hill, Gloucestershire, Stanwick, North Yorkshire, South Cadbury, Somerset (Craig *et al.* 2005, 167) and Sutton Common, South Yorkshire (Knüsel 2007) in Britain, in addition to a range of sites across Europe (e.g. Ardagna *et al.* 2005). Whilst there remains debate about the accuracy of some specific claims of human sacrifice from the archaeological record (e.g. Connolly 1985), sufficient evidence exists to argue that such activities took place. Bog bodies provide exceptional levels of evidence due to preservation, but it is likely that these and other examples of deliberate killing reflected similar transformations of meanings that extended beyond just those of the individuals themselves.

## **Body deposition**

The deposition of human remains marks another process of transformation. Given that later prehistoric practices for the disposal of the dead are so variable across Europe, it is not possible to assume a single burial rite. Furthermore, given that the vast majority of individuals from this period are archaeological invisible in terms

of their human remains, it is not appropriate to suggest that graves hold the same meanings as they might today. It is possible that the scarcity of human remains dating to the later prehistoric period in many regions might actually indicate a normal practice involving excarnation by exposure, reducing the body to its skeleton, which, unless re-deposited within a secondary context, would remain less visible archaeologically. From the evidence that does survive, the deposition of bodies during later prehistory includes articulated inhumations, fragmented bodies, body parts and cremations. The contexts in which these are found include individual burials, cemeteries and isolated finds. The evidence of ceremonial sacrifice and mass-killings provide different types of deposition of human remains. As cemeteries only represent a minute proportion of the numbers of people who lived during prehistory, it is perhaps appropriate to refer to all instances of deposited human remains as unusual. In some instances, however, the deposition of human remains is particularly unusual and appears to represent different practices.

## Cemeteries

The numbers of individuals represented in later prehistoric cemeteries only represent a small proportion of those that lived, and it is perhaps appropriate to presume that those that have been inhumed may be considered as special (Figure 3.6). It has even been suggested that all deposition during this period may be regarded as significant (Hill 1995a, 125). Perhaps as exceptions to any standard practice for the disposal of the dead, the large inhumation cemeteries associated with the Arras traditions provide some of the most obvious examples of inhumation burial. These cemeteries are characterised by individual burials under small barrows defined by rectangular or square ditches, making them distinctive through aerial photography (e.g. Stoertz 1997). Occasionally, these burials include prestigious La Tène style objects in addition to dismantled, two-wheeled carts or chariots (see Chapter 2). The largest cemetery of this kind was found in Yorkshire on the boundary between the parishes of Wetwang Slack and Garton Slack, which included over 450 burials including four cart/chariot burials, comprising three from Wetwang Slack (Dent 1985) and one from Garton Slack (Brewster 1971). Similar burials have also been found across the Yorkshire Wolds (e.g. Stead 1991a), in Ferry Fryston, in West Yorkshire, and in Newbridge in southern Scotland (Carter *et al.* 2010). The characteristics of these burials, with strong similarities with those of the Seine valley in northern France, indicate connections between the two areas (Ramm 1978; Cunliffe 2010, 210). Whilst the Arras tradition, and its associations with northern France, appears to commence in the late fifth century BC, the majority of these cemeteries date from the fourth to the second centuries BC (Jay *et al.* 2012), and are likely to be associated with the Parisi (Cunliffe 2005, 210).<sup>6</sup>

The characteristics that define the Arras tradition burials lie in the nature of the barrows, the inclusion of grave goods such as weaponry and the presence of dismantled vehicles. The latter is particularly interesting, and the cart/chariot burials from Wetwang Slack (see Dent 1985) provide clear evidence of the process.



Figure 3.6 Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to the deposition of human remains in cemeteries and related contexts.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the dismantling and placing the parts of carts/chariots both under and over the body reflects repeated practice that would have required a level of specialist knowledge as part of the process of burial, in addition to marking a more complex process of deposition. This process might be considered as representing a transformation from vehicles for the living to vehicles for the dead, although through their dismantling, they were transformed into static vessels that share similarities with coffins. Associated grave goods included weaponry and the butchered parts of pigs and, in the case of Burial no. 2, the adult female was associated with an iron pin, a mirror, two horse-bits and a decorated bronze container with an attached chain.

A different type of Iron Age cemetery consisting of two groups was excavated at Yarnton in Oxfordshire in 1990 in advance of gravel extraction (Hey *et al.* 1999). The northern group consisted of fifteen individuals and the southern

group revealed ten, the two areas separated by about 20m (although other 'outlier' inhumations have also been discovered). All of the burials were unaccompanied, with the individuals primarily placed in a crouched position, mostly aligned approximately north-south. They were all fully articulated and placed within shallow grave cuts. The individuals represented both men and women, with ages ranging from sub-adult (younger than twelve) to adult. The radiocarbon dating of the burials places them in the fourth or third centuries BC, with statistical analysis indicating that all burials took place within a period of less than fifty years; perhaps just two generations. The size of a nearby contemporaneous settlement indicated that the cemetery might have included all individuals who had died during this period. Hence, the evidence from Yarnton indicates that, at least in certain areas, burial rites were not exclusive, and similar patterns might be true for sites such as Cockey Down near Salisbury. Certainly, where inhumations have been discovered, the vast majority are not accompanied by grave goods (see Whimster 1981).

Other later prehistoric burial traditions prior to the first century BC include inhumations in cist graves, which, in Cornwall, indicate a tradition that extended from the fifth century BC through to the first century AD (Whimster 1981, 192–193). In certain areas, cremation has been identified as a primary rite during this period. During the second century BC, the Aylesford cremation rite (based on discoveries from Kent) has been identified in south-eastern England, with strong parallels with traditions in northern France. With some exceptions, cemeteries are generally small with small numbers of grave goods that, where present, commonly consist of pottery vessels and brooches, although later sites such as Welwyn Garden City can include rich grave furnishings. Elsewhere, burials prior to the first century BC in Britain are usually found as individuals, often in pits on settlement sites, or represented through disarticulated bone (see 'secondary burial' below).

Whilst the evidence for early and middle Iron Age human remains is variable, examples from the late second and first centuries BC onwards are much more plentiful. Across much of Britain at this time, the focus was on unaccompanied burials, such as the occurrence of crouched inhumations in Dorset (Whimster 1977). However, on the Yorkshire Wolds, this period is marked by the appearance of single furnished inhumations, such as those from North Grimston, Bugthorpe and Grimthorpe, displaying a tendency for extended burial rather than crouched inhumation, associated with rich grave goods. Similar examples have been identified at Shouldham in Norfolk, Owslebury in Hampshire, St Lawrence on the Isle of Wight and Mill Hill in Kent. Whilst these types of burials have been referred to as 'warrior' burials, the general pattern for the period includes men and women, with grave goods including weapons as well as mirrors, beads and other decorative items in addition to bronze bowls and other objects, as found at Birdlip in Gloucestershire (Cunliffe 2005, 555–557).

In south-eastern and southern England, rich grave goods are also associated with cremations, with examples from the Aylesford-Swarling tradition. Particularly on the northern side of the Thames, Iron Age cremation cemeteries, such as those at Baldock and Welwyn Garden City in Hertfordshire, have been associated with goods highlighting drinking and feasting, with imported



amphorae, serving vessels, buckets, hearth furniture and gaming sets, indicative of changing connections with the continent from the mid-first century BC onwards (e.g. Stead 1967), although the precise drivers for this remain debatable (e.g. Pitts 2005). Cremation represents a very different physical transformation of the body compared with inhumation burial, with implications regarding the space that the remains of the body occupy within the grave. In most cases, cremated remains were not placed in urns, but could have been held within organic containers that have not survived, and it is noteworthy that there is evidence that only a proportion of the cremated bone was taken from the pyre for burial (Fitzpatrick 1997). It was noted that such evidence from cremations reveals the complex processes that would have been followed, from the initial arrival of the body, to the building of the pyre, the act of cremation, the collection of some of the cremated bone and the final interment; each phase presumably being accompanied with rituals and behaviours reinforcing these transformations (Fitzpatrick 1997, 236–241).

Cremation and inhumation present considerable differences regarding the treatment and transformation of the body. Equally, the presence or absence of objects, or the dismantling or breaking of objects within the grave (see Chapter 2) reflects different levels of transformation including differing requirements for expertise associated with these rites. The considerable changes that took place during the first century BC are likely to relate in varying ways to increased international contact and trade, although this might not explain such shifts in all areas. Within particular periods, the range in funerary traditions reflects different types of transformation of the body, sometimes including objects and sometimes not. Across time, these transformations mark significant changes, the most striking of which heralds in the decline of later prehistory and the expansion of Roman influence.

### **Other human remains**

The majority of human remains from later prehistory are not encountered within cemetery contexts and present varying levels of fragmentation (Figure 3.7). Bog bodies provide one avenue for exploring the deposition of human remains outside of what may be considered to be normal burial practice, although there is considerable variation across those examples dating to later prehistory. One of the challenges with considering these remains lies in relating the different practices of deposition to trends identified in the forensic records from the bodies themselves. In terms of those individuals that experienced an untimely, possibly sacrificial end, the patterns are not clear. Some individuals were deposited directly onto the bog surface or in wet hollows within it, such as Lindow II (Barber 1995; Buckland 1995), Clonycavan Man, Old Croghan Man (Kelly 2012) and Dätgen Man. Such bodies revealed evidence of intentional and possibly ceremonial killing, although it is unknown whether the individuals were from the communities that were performing these ceremonies, or whether they were criminals or prisoners. Other bodies display firm evidence for having been placed within cuttings in the bog, either representing cut graves or perhaps earlier peat cuttings, such as



Figure 3.7 Locations of sites mentioned in the text relating to other forms of deposition of human remains.

Tollund Man, the Borremose bodies, Windeby II (Fischer 2012) and Grauballe Man (Asingh 2007). In the case of Borremose Woman (1948), it seems that the body was placed in a peat cutting on a surface of cut cotton grass (*Eriophorum*) (Fischer 2012, 129).

Whilst there has been little consideration of the landscape context of bog bodies (cf. Chapman 2015), where evidence exists, it is possible to identify trends in terms of the locations of bodies within their contemporaneous wetland environments. This is significant because, for example, the deposition of a body at the edge of a wetland presents a significant difference compared with a body deposited at the centre of a large and treacherous peatland surface. Equally, this distinction might have significance in terms of the ability for an audience to accompany a ceremonial event. Stefan Burmeister (2013) has provided useful summaries of the relationships between different bog bodies and their proximity to the edge of

the wetland, at least based on their current extents. Many bodies were deposited within close proximity of the edge of the bog, often within relatively small wetlands, such as Windeby II (approximately 20m from the bog edge), Windeby I (approximately 25m from the bog edge), Damendorf Man, Borremose III, Grauballe Man (all three approximately 30m from the bog edge) and Tollund Man (approximately 50m from the bog edge). In contrast, Lindow II was deposited over 135m from the edge of the wetland (Chapman 2015), Borremose II was deposited over 300m from the bog edge, Dätgen Man was found about 500m from the edge of the bog (see Gill-Robinson 2005, 267) and the girl from Uchter Moor was found over 2km from dryland (Burmeister 2013, 498).

It is clear from the evidence of deposition, where it exists, that bog bodies do not represent a single form of burial or tradition. There are numerous bodies for which evidence of a violent end is not forthcoming and the range in depositional practice implies that at least some of these bodies might be considered to be reflecting *normal* burial practices within their regions and times, although a clearer understanding of factors such as shifts in bog hydrology could add complexity to such binary interpretations. In the case of Lindow II, the increased surface wetness of the bog prior to his burial indicates that crossing the bog to the place of deposition would have been challenging, and so it is most likely that he walked to the place where he was killed within the wetland. As for many other bog bodies, it is possible to reconstruct the sequence of events from his final meal through to his death and ceremonial deposition, with each phase representing a transformation in meaning extending from the selection of the individual to the placing of their body within the bog.

Not all bog bodies represent complete body forms, with many presenting varying levels of fragmentation, although it is often uncertain whether such acts formed the cause of death or whether they occurred shortly afterwards. There are numerous cases of decapitation, such as the German examples of Dätgen Man, the Osterby head and the severed heads from Roum and Stidsholt in Denmark; the latter two found wrapped in animal skin. Similarly, acts of mutilation and dismemberment have been identified, as in the case of Old Croghan Man from Ireland. In most cases of fragmentation, only part of the body has survived, although for Dätgen Man, it seems that the body and head were at least deposited in proximity with one another, assuming they are of the same individual. In the Danish example of Huldremose Woman (Figure 3.8), her right arm had been amputated, perhaps twice, above and below the elbow; whilst the lower part of her arm was deposited with her, the elbow section was apparently missing (Brothwell *et al.* 1990). The exceptional preservation of the body parts that do survive indicate that they represent their primary burial context reflecting the intentionality of those involved in their demise and deposition, although it cannot be known whether missing parts were taken away or left. Equally, in some cases, it is possible that bodies or parts of bodies could have been exhumed to be used for other purposes. Evidence from the Bronze Age site of Cladh Hallan on Uist in the Outer Hebrides provides a clear indication of the potential for exhuming and fragmenting bodies in prehistory (see Parker Pearson *et al.* 2005; 2007). Here, four burials were discovered



*Figure 3.8* Huldremose Woman, showing the injury to her right arm. Photograph by Lennart Larsen.

Source: The National Museum of Denmark.

beneath the primary floor deposits three houses. Upon excavation, these comprised a three-year-old disarticulated child, and the crouched inhumations of a ten to fourteen-year-old, an adult man and an adult woman. However, upon closer inspection, all but the second of these displayed post-mortem modifications, and all provided evidence of being preserved within a bog environment prior to final deposition. Most strikingly, the skeleton of the adult male was actually composed of the remains of three different individuals, positioned as if an articulated burial in a crouched position. Furthermore, the radiocarbon dating of these remains indicated that parts of the bodies, including the composite adult male skeleton, could have died in the middle Bronze Age, centuries before burial, with the three different individuals represented within this skeleton dying at different times. This

evidence does suggest a high level of understanding of processes of preservation possible within burials environments such as peatlands, in addition to challenging assumptions about whether an inhumation actually reflects a single individual in some cases. Certainly, the burial, exhumation, mutilation and reburial of these individuals presents complex patterns of physical transformation over considerable timescales.

The bodies from Cladh Hallan, and bog bodies more generally, cannot be seen as representative of non-cemetery burials during later prehistory. As cemeteries represent the minority of funerary rites from the period, it may be assumed that, for the majority of individuals, the normal practice was less visible archaeologically. In the period before the first century BC, most human remains have been discovered within domestic settings and hillforts, particularly from interior spaces, in many cases, from pits within these contexts. Across Wessex, between 15 and 30 per cent of pits have been found to contain either animal or human remains (Hill 1995a, 75), and at Danebury, 40 per cent of pits contained deposits that were classed as *special*, many of which contained human remains (Cunliffe 1992, 75). However, it has been noted that such remains are likely to reflect priorities beyond those of burial, such as religious propitiation (e.g. Cunliffe 1992; 2011). Furthermore, given the frequent pattering of these burials with animal bone, pottery and small finds, it has been suggested that they represent a high level of structure, implying that they were not merely focused on the deposition of the dead (e.g. Hill 1995a, 106).

Fragments of human bodies occur in some regularity on later prehistoric sites. At the early fourth century BC ‘marsh fort’ site of Sutton Common in South Yorkshire, England, two complete heads were discovered in a ditch terminal at the eastern entrance to the site (Van de Noort *et al.* 2007). Osteological examination of these heads, despite poor preservation, revealed that they were probably both men, each aged between twenty-five and thirty-five. Both heads were associated with cervical vertebra, indicating that they were severed and deposited as fleshed remains (Knüsel 2007). It has been noted that the cutting of a human body into different parts provides the basis for powerful symbolism; in the case of decapitation, the act transforms a single body into two objects; a head and a body, providing significant potential for the subsequent use of both objects within deposits or for display (Armit 2012). In particular, the practice of head-hunting is described in the classical literature by authors such as Diodorus Siculus (*Library of History* 5.29), Strabo (*Geographia*, 4.4–5) and Livy (*Ab Urbe Condita* 23.24), in most cases referring to the posthumous removal of the head. It is possible that such activities are reflected at sites such as the cliff-top sanctuary of Roquepertuse and the shrine at Entremont in south-eastern France, which contained niches for the display of human skulls, in addition to representations of heads in stone (Aldhouse-Green 2001, 97).

A comprehensive re-assessment of the human remains from the settlement site of Gussage All Saints and the hillfort of Maiden Castle, both in Dorset, has produced detailed evidence for the secondary use of human remains prior to deposition (Redfern 2008). Within the wider context of structured deposits on settlement

sites (see Wait 1985; Hill 2005), the deposition of human remains, both articulated and fragmented, is a common theme, especially from the middle Iron Age. The evidence from both Gussage All Saints and Maiden Castle revealed consistent patterns of secondary burial that concentrated in the third century BC. Patterns included animal gnawing, cutting flesh from the bones, the forced disarticulation of bodies and drilling/boring. It was argued that these patterns indicated a drawn out funerary process involving excarnation/exposure (during which time animals had access to the remains) followed by dismemberment and processing. After this, only a small number of bones were then modified before being deposited (Redfern 2008).

Outside of settlements and hillforts, human remains from later prehistory are also encountered on shrines and sanctuary sites. One of the earlier Iron Age examples of shrines is the site of the Býči-Skála cave in Moravia in the eastern Czech Republic. Discovered in the later nineteenth century, the site revealed a complex arrangement of burial, burning, deposition of burnt grain and precious objects, animal sacrifice and human sacrifice, mostly dating to the sixth century BC. In addition to the sacrificed animals, the site revealed the remains of over forty, often mutilated, men and women. Towards the centre of the cave on what may be interpreted as an altar, the amputated hands of a woman wearing gold rings were found along with part of a human skull on a bed of grain (Randsborg 1995, 127).

Perhaps the most famous shrines associated with human sacrifice are those from the Compiègne region of northern France. Here, a series of shrines associated with oppida and sites that later became Gallo-Roman temples provide sinister evidence for the deposition of sacrificed human remains, in addition to indications of some of the processes of killing. The sanctuary at Gournay-sur-Aronde represents religious activity from the very end of the fourth century BC through to the fourth century AD (Brunaux 1986). The construction of the site commenced with the erection of posts within a rectangular ditch measuring 40×45m with an entrance to the east. In the late third century BC, towards the centre of this ditched enclosure, nine pits were dug in a square surrounding a tenth pit. By the second century BC, a semi-oval sanctuary was erected around the central pit. The majority of finds came from the ditch of the enclosure where the remains of 256 swords and fragments of swords, 621 scabbards and furnishings, 361 shield parts including 275 bosses, 73 spear and lance heads, 125 belt fragments, 110 fibulae, 122 rings, 76 tools and other objects were found; a total of 2063 items, along with pottery, many of which had been deliberately broken or bent. Animal bones included the remains of at least fifty-two cattle, ninety-three sheep/goat, eight horses and thirty-three pigs. Sixty fragments of decapitated humans were also recovered, representing at least twelve individuals including both men and women. What was particularly noteworthy about the sanctuary at Gournay-sur-Aronde was the deliberate positioning of many of the bones; human bones were deposited at the corners of the ditch, whilst the cattle skulls were placed at the entrance to the enclosure (Randsborg 1995, 131–135). Furthermore, some of the human bones showed evidence of possible dismemberment using a knife.



It is possible that the nearby site of Ribemont-sur-Ancre was used by the same population who performed ceremonies at Gournay (Brunaux 1993). Here, hundreds of weapons were discovered along with the more than 10,000 human bones in a position that indicated that they might have been kept upright for display, woven into one-another. No skulls were found within this part of the site, suggesting that they had been decapitated prior to display. In two areas of the site, piles of longer bones were found that appeared to have been stacked to form a square box, within which pelvic bones were arranged around a pit containing burned bones. These bones associated with these ossuaries represent perhaps 200 to 300 individuals in addition to animals. As at Gournay, a large number of weapons was also identified, with many displaying evidence of deliberate breakage and bending prior to deposition (Brunaux 1996).

Sites such as Gournay and Ribemont might represent shrines devoted to deities relating to war. It seems likely that the numerous individuals represented by the human remains at both sites were victims of conflict, either dying in battle, or having been sacrificed as prisoners of war. The ostentatious nature of the display of mutilated human remains, such as outside of the enclosure at Ribemont, appears significant in relation to their intentionality and provides a clear and highly visceral message. Such displays could have been religiously motivated, but could also have provided a symbolic defence in the form of terror. The physical transformation of the human body through mutilation and its subsequent display was symbolic, with meaning extending beyond that of the specific individuals. Through dismemberment, the identity of the individual is lost. As noted by Craig *et al.* (2005), such spectacles have resonance on many hillfort sites where mutilated human remains appear to have been displayed within areas such as entrances. Furthermore, they argued that the level of fragmentation, mutilation and dismemberment, including repeated instances of decapitation and the co-mingling of remains at Danebury, might reflect a similar practice. It might not be known how long mutilated remains would have been displayed prior to reaching their final depositional context, but the potential for display reflects an additional transformative phase, with the loss of individual identity and a complexity of ways in which this could have been understood depending on the perspective of the audience; from vanquished enemy to terrorism, with associated variations in the emotional connection that such displays would have elicited.

Given the range of different contexts and conditions within which later prehistoric human remains are encountered, generalisations are hard to make. However, new discoveries and the re-evaluation of archives are highlighting increased complexity in the nature of non-cemetery deposition of human remains. Additional moments of physical alteration, whether through processes such as complex burial rites involving excarnation and dismemberment, or processes of mutilation and display prior to deposition, provide new moments of transformation that would have presented new sets of meanings and emotive responses from different members of the community. They also begin to reveal the complexity of the range of actors and places that would have been involved in these processes of change, and disrupt the idea of a 'final' deposition.



## Conclusions – breaking bodies

This chapter has considered the human body, which, in certain circumstances, can be seen as an icon or sign that represents more than the individual (Rambelli and Reinders 2012), investigating moments of change affecting it that can be interpreted within the framework of transformation. As noted in Chapter 2 in relation to objects, the creation of something new frequently dictates the destruction of the old, and such patterns can be seen in the physical and discursive transformations through rites of passage, such as an individual coming of age. Although such associations will frequently involve non-material transformations and will therefore be challenging to identify archaeologically, evidence for both temporary and permanent transformations to the body provide indications of themes including social status, age and gender. Indications from clothing, jewellery and hair highlight the potential for identifying these themes, although the detail regarding interpretation is often lacking. Through its transformation, the body can reveal social patterns of identity (and difference) through the ways in which it is presented in life. In this respect, this chapter has explored both temporary transformations, such as hairstyles, clothes and adornments, and permanent transformations, such as tattooing and scarification. It is clear that communities would have understood the meanings behind these symbolic transformations. Symbols associated with changes in social status would have reflected broader themes that extended beyond individual identities to those that held relevance to the group, such as being emblematic of childhood, adulthood, marriage, slavery, leadership and so forth. Whilst it is possible to consider the human body itself as iconic, its alteration through both temporary and permanent transformations extends its meaning to include these broader cultural themes.

If a human body can signify cultural themes that extend beyond those of the individual, then attacks to it (and ultimately killing it) can be interpreted in relation to attacks on what they are seen to represent, as dramatic sign transformations that would have been understood differently by different members of the community, or by other communities. Interpretations of revenge warfare reflect this symbolism, where individuals may be killed for what they represent as enemies or offenders rather than as individuals. Similarly, evidence from violent ceremonial killings frequently reflects elements of performance intended to be viewed by an audience. This, coupled with the indication that at least some sacrifices might have been carried out in a manner to limit the level of discomfort and suffering experienced by the victim, reinforces the idea that such events were, at least in some cases, focused on the sacrifice of the symbolic meaning of what the victim represented rather than merely the individual. The evidence from many bog bodies, for example, indicates the purposeful selection of victims based on factors such as social status or physical features that marked the individual as different.

Death cannot be undone, and so parallels can be seen with the irreversible destruction of objects discussed in the previous chapter. The range of different approaches to the deposition of the body highlights the variability of practice in terms of period, location and context of discard. The irretrievability of bodies placed in rivers or peat bogs has direct resonance with objects, as do processes

of fragmentation, disarticulation or cremation. However, the symbolic nature of the dead body was perhaps more complex. Post-mortem attacks to the corpse, such as the spearing of bodies in the grave, or the pinning down of bodies within bogs, could reflect a multitude of meanings, from a fear of the dead returning to an act of collective separation or offering. Furthermore, evidence for the secondary deposition of human remains, and the bodies from sites such as Cladh Hallan, highlight the potential for human body parts to have retained meaning beyond that of the individuals represented, perhaps even to be seen as relics. In this context, other forms of deposition might have included activities such as cannibalism, although the unequivocal identification of such practices compared with de-fleshing is problematic (cf. Green 1998, 180).

The different types of transformation experienced by the human body in prehistory can be seen within the frameworks of breaking and re-making. Through life, transformations result in the re-definition of the individual within cultural frameworks, such as through rites of passage or processes of social promotion or demotion. As individuals signify these broader themes, some subsequent acts of transformation, such as physical breakage resulting from conflict or sacrifice, can in some circumstances be interpreted as acts of iconoclasm that represent the destruction of what the individual is understood to represent as a symbol. One challenge lies in evidencing these circumstances to provide an indication of intentionality behind such acts.

## Notes

- 1 From the play *As you like it*, Act II Scene VII, delivered by the melancholic character Jaques in a monologue that begins with the famous line, "All the world's a stage".
- 2 For example, in Strabo's *Geographica* (book IV, chapter 5), mention is made of slaves amongst other exports from Britain.
- 3 Tattooed bodies have been discovered from cemeteries in the coastal areas of Peru and Chile, with the earliest tattooed example being a thin moustache on an adult male dating to approximately 6000 BC (Allison 1996). A more recent body, dating to approximately AD 1000 revealed the use of two different staining substances apparently reflecting decorative and non-decorative designs, with the locations on the body of the latter providing a correlation with the positions of acupuncture points (Pabst *et al.* 2010).
- 4 As an open wound, a fresh tattoo will commonly result in inflammation and swelling, in addition to the possibility of infection. When observing tattooing in seventeenth-century Jerusalem, the traveller Jean de Thévenot observed the frequency of a slight fever being experienced by recipients of tattoos shortly after application (Perdrizet 1911).
- 5 The season of Lindow II's death has been debated. The winter season suggested here was concluded due to the need for cold conditions to have facilitated his preservation in antiquity (see West 1986). However, the body's cereal-rich stomach contents provide no indication of seasonality because this could have been stored throughout the year (see Hiller 1986, 113; Scaife 1986, 133). However, it has also been suggested on other grounds that the event took place in the spring (Beltain) or even mid-summer (Ross 1986, 168).
- 6 A recent study of isotopes relating to the British chariot/cart burials has shown that it is unlikely that the individuals within the graves grew up on the continent and moved to the region, but rather that they lived locally (Jay *et al.* 2013).

## 4 Breaking monuments

The symbolic meanings of monuments are numerous, and might variously relate to power, control or religion, which is the basis for why there is a rich tradition of iconoclastic action targeted against them. For example, the statues of rulers, such as Saddam Hussein or Joseph Stalin, can be seen as symbolising tyranny or oppression rather than just the individual depicted, although the plural meanings of monuments can mean that singular interpretations of how they are understood by different individuals and groups can be problematic. In the case of the Bamiyan Buddhas, their destruction in 2001 was motivated by a complex range of religious, social, economic and ideological reasons (Noyes 2013a, 169–170). Whether enacted through the toppling of statues, the blowing up of effigies or religious buildings, or through other less physically extreme approaches, iconoclastic attacks to monuments are attacks on what those monuments are seen to represent.

The act of physically breaking a monument creates something new. The toppled statues of despotic leaders in recent years have themselves become iconic following the initial act of destruction, emphasised for the global media through photographic representation and reproduction (Fahmy 2007). Breakage can also alter meaning in more constructive ways. Monuments can be appropriated by a new ruling order through their physical modification, as seen in Daujon's modification of religious monuments in Paris following the French Revolution (Clay 2012a, 258). On a large scale, we might see the modification of built structures such as state buildings during the medieval period, including Edward III's modifications to Westminster Palace and Windsor Castle in the fourteenth century, as expressions of political success, literally building on and augmenting legacy (Emery 2006, 287–288).

It is not just the destruction or modification of monuments that creates meaning. The creation of a monument, including the choice of its location as well as its architecture, is in itself an act of meaning-making, with intentions such as to legitimise or establish a new authority or cosmology. To create a memory of one thing through a physical construction can be an active choice to forget another. A new construction, as opposed to the modification of an existing structure, will take place against a backdrop of meaning associated with the location. By physically *altering the earth* (Bradley 1993), the process of construction might have created *place*, in dialectical contrast with any previous notion of *space* (Tuan

1977), becoming ever present for successive generations (Bradley 2002, 156), whether they were re-used or ultimately neglected. In addition to this impositional nature of monumentality, new styles of architecture would also have been interpreted, understood or appreciated in a variety of ways by individuals and communities at the time.

The symbolism of monuments is complex and relates not only to notions of their final form but also to other processes within their biographies. The creation of a monument can be viewed as destroying what was there before, either physically or conceptually. Monuments can be modified, such as through re-appropriation by a new ruling order. They can be physically attacked as symbols of oppression or as representing perceived enemies or the *other*, or they can be passively attacked such as by refusal to acknowledge them or by neglect. Within each context, the focus on change provides fertile contexts for the discussion of the plurality of the meaning associated with them. Within prehistory, there are numerous examples of monuments being constructed, modified, neglected and even purposefully destroyed. The focus of this chapter is on monuments from the first millennium BC, and is divided into two parts. The first explores these themes in relation to what may be contentiously termed public spaces, and focuses primarily on hillforts with broader discussion of proto-urban centres, with the analysis of their creation, modification and demise. The second part focuses on sacred sites, some of which were located hillforts and settlements, but also include isolated shrines and natural places (cf. Bradley 2000). Across both parts of this chapter, it is argued that many of the material changes to monuments reflected a desire to elicit, reinforce or challenge political, religious and social control through physical transformation. In each case, these sites would have elicited a plurality of meanings and values to individuals within contemporaneous populations, and it is these meanings and values that would have been challenged through transformations to the monuments.

## **Public spaces?**

One of the most clearly defined types of iconoclasm has taken place within what might be termed public spaces although, in practice, such spaces are not always strictly *public*. Some of the most dramatic acts have taken place against statues that represent the ruling power and, as Richard Clay (2012a) has noted, signified authority frequently in the absence of any human policing force. Hence, when statues were toppled, as following the French Revolution or the deposing of Saddam Hussein in Iraq, the statutes themselves were attacked as symbols of the previously prevailing order. Public spaces included secular areas of townscapes and landscapes, and also places of worship, as demonstrated during the Protestant Reformation. Attacks were not only focused on destruction, but also changing symbolism within the public spaces, such as the re-appropriation of the Palace of the Louvre, which can be seen as an act of iconoclasm that transformed the meaning and earlier function of a building. Attacks on, and within, public spaces provide one route into understanding the tensions and conflicts that resulted in

these acts, although these also require an understanding of the prevailing authority that is being attacked. In some cases, such as during the Byzantine periods of iconoclasm, attacks were undertaken by the prevailing authority against religious imagery. Hence, iconoclasm need not necessarily be against the prevailing order, but against perceived difference of belief or threats to the establishment. The establishment of statues and other symbols by the prevailing authority as acts performed to establish or embed control and power can be interpreted as enacting a pre-emptive strike in order to ensure the continuation and growth of one particular regime over any competing or different orders.

One challenge for the exploration of such acts of iconoclasm during prehistory lies in the problem of establishing the nature of prevailing authority. In the absence, or limited availability, of written sources, the interpretation of authority must be undertaken from the material evidence. From this evidence, it is possible to identify the creation of new forms of monuments as establishing a new marker within the landscape by individuals or groups with the power to implement their creation. Whilst their architecture might be interpreted as affording factors such as defence or a visible presence in the landscape, their creation itself marks a visible reflection of authority that extends beyond such affordances. Similarly, modifications to monuments can be seen as transformations to their earlier form, perhaps reflecting economic or logistical factors, but equally engendering additional markers on the landscape that reflect developing or shifting priorities.

Direct attacks on monuments and public spaces are more difficult to identify. For hillforts such as Danebury in Hampshire, direct attacks on the fort might only reflect raiding and competing interests for control of economic resources. At face value, it is challenging to interpret such pragmatic rationales behind such attacks as being iconoclastic. However, the potential relationship to wider themes of power and authority might be more readily seen in such terms, particularly if forts themselves are considered to be symbols of power, or where the associated destruction includes shrines or places of worship. For later prehistory, a number of monument types can be examined that variously demonstrate transformations, which can be interpreted within iconoclasm frameworks reflecting creation (as a break from the past), modification, abandonment and destruction. Equally, within these themes, we might also see varying levels of actual material breakage, from the absolute destruction through to discursive transformation.

### **Creation of hillforts in the landscape**

Whilst the emergence of the hillfort tradition is normally associated with the late Bronze Age and Iron Age within temperate Europe, the building of enclosures has its origins in the Neolithic and, in some instances, such sites were reoccupied and remodelled during later prehistory. It is entirely likely that the earthworks from earlier monuments such as causewayed enclosures would have been visible on the ground when the hillforts were being constructed, as demonstrated at Maiden Castle in Dorset, where the hillfort overlies an earlier Neolithic causewayed enclosure (Sharples 1991). Within eastern England, antecedents to the

development of hillforts are seen in the earthwork and palisaded enclosures at sites such as Thwing (Manby 2007) and Staple Howe (Powlesland 1998) on the Yorkshire Wolds, and Mucking in Essex (Bond 1988). However, across central and eastern Europe, a clearer development from enclosed hilltop settlement to hillfort is apparent. Even by the early Bronze Age, enclosed sites such as Spišský Štvrok, Nitrinský Hrádok and Barca in Slovakia all displayed architectures including stone walls or substantial timber-framed ramparts, with similar constructions being seen on forts in Middle Germany, such as at Niederneundorf, and Poland, such as at Biskupin (Harding 2012, 154–155).

It has been noted that, whilst the word hillfort describes a class of monument, it should not be assumed that all sites fulfilled the same requirements or shared similar functions (Hill 1995b), and this has been confirmed by excavations that reveal considerable diachronic and regional variety (Figure 4.1). However, the traditions of initial construction provide a useful avenue when considering how hillforts impacted upon the pre-existing landscape. Hillfort construction did not

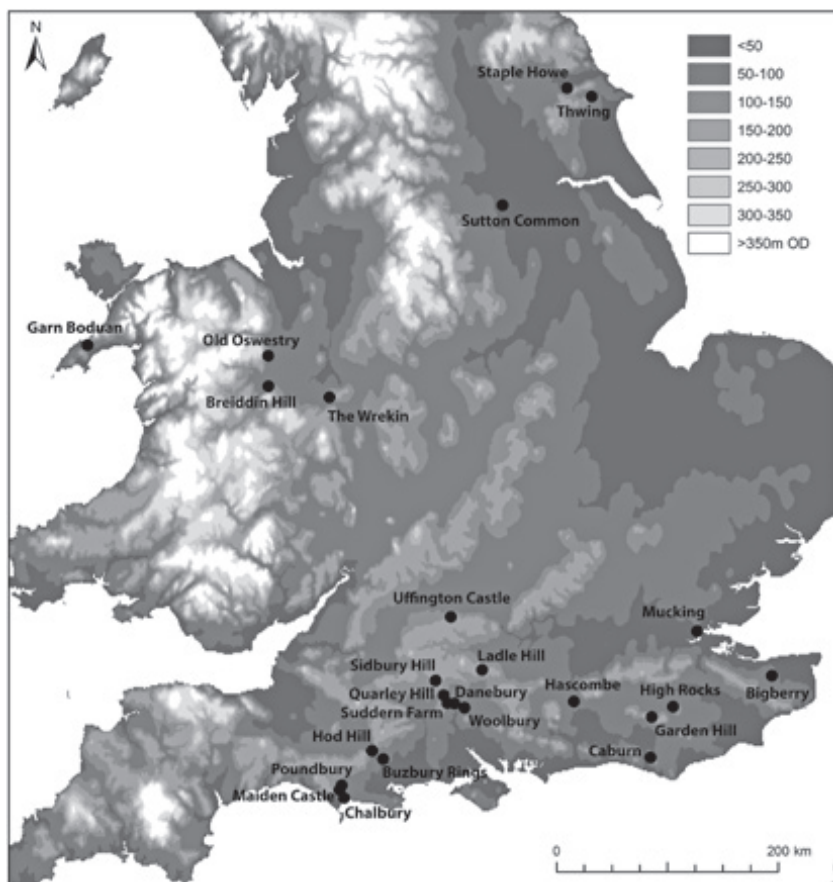


Figure 4.1 Locations of British hillforts and associated monuments mentioned in the text.

happen during a single period, but occurred throughout a period of over a millennium, with some sites becoming re-occupied or abandoned, and new sites positioned in new locations. Within the context of their own pasts, the construction of hillforts, like other monuments, established “new relationships of the present” (Lock, Gosden and Daly 2005, 134).

An assessment of the chronology, architecture and landscape positioning of hillforts in south-eastern England has demonstrated apparent shifts in the priorities of their builders at different times (Hamilton and Manley 2001; see Table 4.1). Three principal phases were identified, which reflected changing motivations through the period. The earlier hillforts within this area, dating to the late Bronze Age (*c.* 1000–750 BC) and early Iron Age (*c.* 750–400 BC), appeared alongside the establishment of cross-ridge dykes that were sometimes incorporated into the layout of the fort and might have served to define pastoral land blocks (*cf.* Bradley 1971). These earlier hillforts were not positioned in dramatic settings or constructed with dramatic architecture compared with later hillforts, but they did command impressive distant views across the landscapes surrounding them. The evidence from excavated examples indicates sporadic rather than intensive occupation. These factors, in combination with the large number of forts constructed during this earlier phase and the intensity of non-hillfort settlement in the region, supported the interpretation that these were marginal locales that connected places and resources rather than being central to social activity. This is reflected by the wide distribution of raw materials represented on the sites that typically extended to a 15km radius. As marginal, connecting locales, these early hillforts are likely to have served as meeting places that facilitated activities associated with propitiation, as demonstrated by occasional votive deposits found at a number of sites in the region. Elsewhere within Britain, where the interiors have been adequately excavated, the evidence for early hilltop enclosures reflects this trend of limited occupation and the interpretation of only sporadic occupation (Cunliffe 2005, 380–382). However, the smaller hillforts of Wessex demonstrate more intensive occupation at this time and were more clearly defended. The earliest phases of Danebury, for example, demonstrate a density of occupation around a central area, which contained storage pits and possible shrine buildings (Cunliffe 2011).

In the second phase, dating to the middle Iron Age (*c.* 400/300–100/50 BC), there was a significant reduction in the number of hillforts being occupied in south-east England and, from the available evidence, the majority of these, particularly on the South Downs, were new sites rather than re-occupations of the earlier sites. This shift reflects a change in the apparent priorities of the architects, particularly in relation to the visual affordances of the forts. Compared with the earlier sites, this period saw a reduction in outward visibility of the landscapes from the sites, a lack of inter-visibility between them and an increase in the visual impressiveness of hillforts when seen from outside. For some hillforts, this shift in visibility is reflected by the palaeoenvironmental evidence, which indicates that woodland was cleared at the time of construction, thus enabling such views for the first time and marking new ownership of previously uncleared spaces.



*Table 4.1* Dates of construction and use of hillforts in south-eastern England (based on data provided in Hamilton and Manley 2001)

	<i>Late Bronze Age</i>	<i>Latest Late Bronze Age</i>	<i>Early Iron Age</i>	<i>Middle Iron Age</i>	<i>Late Iron Age</i>
Belle Tout					
Seaford Head					
Thundersbarrow Hill					
Wolstonbury					
Caesar's Camp (Wimbledon)					
Chanctonbury Ring					
St Ann's Hill					
St George's Hill					
Harrow Hill					
Harting Beacon					
Highdown Hill					
Hollingbury					
Castle Hill (Newhaven)					
Ditchling Beacon					
Goosehill					
Torberry					
Caburn					
Cissbury					
Trundle					
Caesar's Camp (Keston)					
Anstiebury					
Castle Hill I (Tonbridge)					
Castle Hill II (Tonbridge)					
Garden Hill					
High Rocks					
Hascombe					
Holmbury					
Oldbury					
Devil's Dyke					
Bigberry					
Hammer Wood					
Philpots					
Saxonbury					
Piper's Copse					
Felday					
Squerries					

On the South Downs, the forts appear to have occupied central places, contrasting with the positioning of the earlier examples. The architecture of these sites was also quite different, with an increased focus on topographic landmarks where the constructed earthworks served to monumentalise these natural features. The earthworks rarely obscured internal features of the forts and they are unlikely to have been primarily defensive. The interiors of these sites were not optimal for settlement with few level areas, and the excavated evidence, which indicates a general lack of internal structures, supports this. Instead, sites such as Caburn

(Drewett and Hamilton 1999) have demonstrated a large number of pits indicative of collective storage. Hence, they appear to have provided a focus for special communal activities associated with seasonal cycles, with evidence for an increase in symbolic deposition on the sites, such as within some of the pits at Caburn, where deposits appear to hold greater significance towards the top of the hill (Hamilton 1998). The central placement of the middle Iron Age hillforts, coupled with their regular spacing across the South Downs, was probably linked to emerging territories, with the forts providing central places for exchange and production within a landscape of decentralised communities (see also Cunliffe 2005, 388–389). These hillforts provided symbolic centres for dispersed communities, focused on monumentalising distinctive topographic features. Similar, regular patterns relating to hillfort placement is notable from the Wessex Downs, indicating the emergence of distinct territorial units of land (Cunliffe 2005, 388–390; but see Hill 1995b, 50 for a critique), although these sites were associated with denser patterns of non-hillfort settlement (cf. Hill 1996, 102).

By the late Iron Age (c. 50 BC to AD 100) in south-east England, Hamilton and Manley (2001) argued that the priorities of the hillfort builders had shifted once again. Whilst some earlier hillforts continued to be occupied, the period saw an increase in construction of new sites, but with different patterns regionally. Some areas, such as the South Downs, become almost devoid of hillforts, indicating a different type of socio-economic organisation. The locations of forts elsewhere within the region were not focused on providing impressive viewsheds, with most sites facilitating restricted external visibility and with a lack of inter-visibility. Some newly constructed sites were positioned on extraordinary landforms, such as the rocky crags associated with the appropriately named site of High Rocks. Whilst the lack of external visibility would have restricted any defensive function of these sites, visual affordances were clearly important. The precise orientation of entrances for many sites seems to have been focused on providing impressive visual approaches to the sites from the outside. Occupation at these sites appears to have been thin, given the excavation data, although there is increased evidence for iron working, as indicated by the hoard from Bigberry (Thompson 1983), and the hearth furnaces or anvil structures from Garden Hill (Money 1977), High Rocks (Money 1960; 1968), Bigberry (Thompson 1983) and Hascombe (Thompson 1979). It seems likely that the iron resources of the Wadworth Clay of the High Weald were becoming increasingly important at this time. The occupation of prominent places within the landscape might reflect an increase in control and empowerment and increased hierarchy.

The excavation of the marsh-fort of Sutton Common in South Yorkshire provides some strong parallels with these interpretations of middle and late Iron Age sites. The comprehensive excavation of the site revealed a multivallate structure with its plan reflecting the shapes of low hills within a wetland landscape, constructed in a single phase that was dendrochronologically dated to between 372 BC and 350 BC (Van de Noort *et al.* 2007). Excavation and subsequent palaeoenvironmental analyses revealed no evidence for substantive occupation and it seems that it was never intended to be used for habitation. Rather, it is likely

that populations lived within the dispersed enclosed and unenclosed farms on the adjacent limestone ridge to the west. Rather than houses, the interior was filled with densely packed four-post structures, twenty-four of which revealed direct evidence of charred grain. The absence of occupation, coupled with the apparent storage function for grain, echoes middle Iron Age sites such as Caburn (see above), and the re-assessment of the Breiddin hillfort in Powys, Wales (Buckland *et al.* 2001; cf. Musson 1991). The positioning of Sutton Common within an area of low-lying wetland meant that it would not have commanded strong views of the exterior landscape. However, it would have become visually impressive on direct approach to the site, where the precise arrangement of the earthworks appears to have been to present strong and shifting visual narratives when approached (Chapman 2000), which would only have been augmented by the surrounding vegetation (Gearey and Chapman 2006). Such precise architecture shares similarities with later Iron Age sites in south-east England (see Hamilton and Manley 2001, 30).

In order to understand the impact that the creation of hillforts had on the preceding environmental and cultural landscape, two principal themes can be explored. The first is the symbolic nature of enclosure and the impact of enclosure architecture on both the monument and the surrounding environment. The second relates to the transformation of the cultural landscape in terms of both direct impacts on earlier cultural activity and other impacts created through shifting patterns relating to visibility and control within the landscape.

### **The symbolic nature of enclosure and transforming the environment**

The creation of enclosures, creating a sense of inside and outside, is a phenomenon that already had a deep past and variability by later prehistory (Harding *et al.* 2006). Including both the interpretation of natural features and the creation of anthropogenic structures, the form of enclosure might have been complete and impenetrable, discontinuous or even symbolic with no visible markers. Enclosure might reflect a range of practical functions. They might be created for defence and control, keeping animals, people or metaphysical entities out, and protecting economic resources and people within them. Conversely, they might be about the separation of one space for a particular function, such as with the notion of the *temenos* within temples. They might also be created to ensure that livestock do not stray, or to mark ownership of land as separate from that owned by others. Clearly, the act of enclosing spaces reflected a wide variety of different needs, but with the unifying notion of creating a conceptual difference between inside and outside (Harding *et al.* 2006). Similar interpretations relating to the construction of hillforts and enclosed settlements, as symbolic boundaries between insiders and outsiders, have been noted by others (e.g. Bowden and McOmish 1987; 1989; Hingley 1990b).

The development of hillforts as enclosures has its origins in the Bronze Age, with a shift from enclosed settlement to the development of significant enclosing

ditches and ramparts. It has been argued that the development of such enclosures across Europe, and their associations with human and animal bone in foundation deposits, reflects a method of enforcing the social distinctions of society (Harding 2006). The contemporaneous development of what may be termed *warrior burials* (e.g. Whitley 2002) and the practice of depositing ornate and valuable metalwork as hoards (e.g. Bradley 1990) were seen, alongside enclosure, as reflecting this definition of social hierarchy. The need for an increased expression of social hierarchy might also be a consequence of the need to control property through inheritance within a context of agricultural intensification, making kinship relationships much more significant and in need of protection (Thomas 1997).

Whilst the evidence of conflict on some hillforts demonstrates the practical function of defence, the architecture of many sites appears to indicate a different type of intentionality. At the site of Sutton Common in South Yorkshire, mentioned previously, the positioning of the banks and ditches is particularly telling (Figure 4.2). The site was constructed as two enclosures on opposite sides of a relict palaeochannel of the Hampole Beck, joined by a 9m wide brushwood and sand causeway defined between two stake alignments. The enclosures themselves occupy islands within the wetland landscape (see Chapman and Van de Noort 2001) and consist of a variety of different types of banks and ditches, all of the same phase dating to the early fourth century BC. Survey and excavation at the site (Whiting 1936; Parker Pearson and Sydes 1997; Van de Noort *et al.* 2007) revealed two key factors relating to the architecture. First, the larger of the two enclosures was defined by a post-constructed box-rampart. On its western side, this was augmented by an external row of stakes positioned on the wetland edge. However, on its eastern and north-eastern sides, this internal box-rampart was

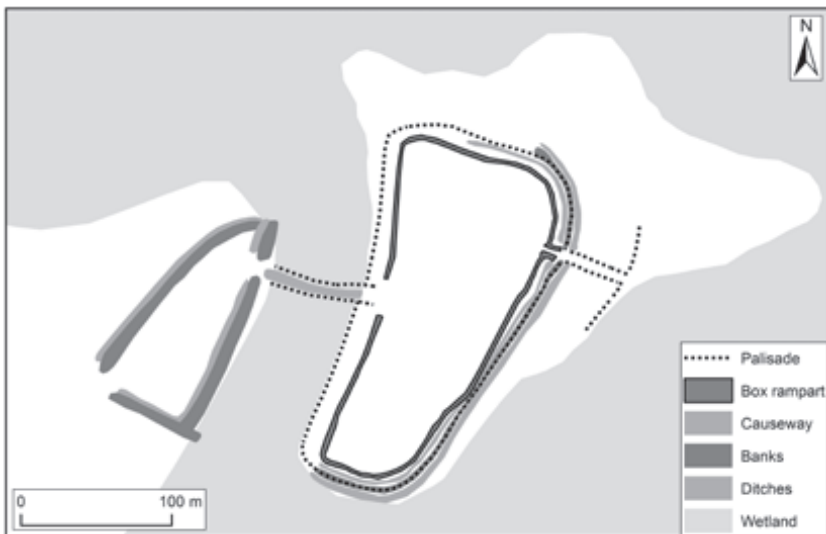


Figure 4.2 The architecture of the marsh fort on Sutton Common, South Yorkshire.

accompanied by an external segmented ditch, followed by a bank topped with a palisade structure and a second external ditch. The eastern entrance to the site was defined by a complex of oak posts and two rows of stakes that extended into the wetland beyond, an area that would have been challenging to traverse, before reaching an outer ring of stakes. The positioning of this avenue into the wetland to an area that was unlikely to have been traversable indicated that the entrance itself was symbolic rather than practical (Van de Noort *et al.* 2007, 112–113).

The second factor relating to the architecture of Sutton Common relates to the smaller enclosure. Its position, proximal to the dryland of the limestone ridge to the west, suggests that it provided the key approach to the site, with the main area of activity relating to the larger enclosure, accessed via the causeway across the relict palaeochannel. This smaller enclosure was defined by a single bank and ditch, although the arrangement of these features is particularly noteworthy. On its western side, from which the principal approach from the limestone ridge would have been, the ditch is external to the bank. However, on the eastern side of the enclosure, the ditch was internal to the bank (see Figure 4.2; see also Whiting 1936, ‘camp B’). Whilst the structure appears to enclose an area of land, the arrangement of the ditches in relation to banks is inappropriate in terms of defence, where the expectation would be for ditches to be external to banks to maximise their defensive impact. Rather, the smaller enclosure can be interpreted as a series of outworks; as two lines of defence, each consisting of a rampart with an external ditch, the arrangement begins to make more sense, even though this calls into question the nature of enclosure. Outworks are known from other fortified sites (see Harding 2012), although their arrangement as an enclosure at Sutton Common is unique.

At one level, the architecture of Sutton Common can be read as very practical, incorporating the wetlands into defence, with outworks controlling access to the central area of the larger enclosure. We might see certain parallels with other ‘marsh-forts’ such as those at Wall (Bond 1991) or the Berth (Morris and Gelling 1991) in Shropshire. However, the variability in the earthworks and the elaborate eastern entrance of the larger enclosure are less functionally practical. Coupled with the lack of evidence for occupation in contrast with the copious storage of grain within the site, it seems that any purely practical interpretation is at odds with the evidence. Rather, the site appears to have reinforced and monumentalised the natural topography of the landscape. This is perhaps made more significant because the earlier use of the area of the larger enclosure included an early Bronze Age cremation associated with a small mortuary enclosure, and the subsequent, post-enclosure, use of the site for other mortuary practices (Van de Noort *et al.* 2007, 161–165).

In creating the duality of inside and outside, the establishment of enclosures is an act of creating *place* (cf. Tuan 1977). Through creation, it disrupts other pre-existing notions relating to *place* or *space*, and reinforces social distinction, with related themes of insider or outsider. The architectural demarcation of an enclosure can vary in form, and can incorporate elements of the natural landscape, as at Sutton Common. The establishment of enclosures through structures such

as earthworks provides a formalisation and enduring expression of inclusivity or exclusivity, in addition to dictating movement through, and access to, specific areas. The physical transformation of the landscape is linked intrinsically to a social transformation that necessarily privileges the perspectives of the architects. The example of Sutton Common provides a clear example of Iron Age forts providing a formalisation of the natural environment. Similar patterns can be seen with later Iron Age hillforts in south-east England that were commonly positioned in relation to significant or locally dramatic or unusual landforms (Hamilton and Manley 2001). More dramatically, in addition to formalising natural features and creating ideas of inside and outside, the creation of enclosures such as hillforts marked an imposition on the landscape that, in many cases, does not appear to have existed before.

As noted by Hamilton and Manley (2001, 25), many locations where hillforts were positioned during the middle Iron Age on the South Downs in southern England would have been tree-covered prior to construction (Dimbleby 1969; MacPhail 1989; MacPhail and Scaife 1987). Even by the later Iron Age, sites on the Weald and Greensand Ridge would have been wooded, albeit with localised cultivation clearings (Dimbleby 1969; 1970). The clearance of woodland has clear economic implications and it is likely that many of the woodlands that were removed or reduced for the construction of hillforts would have been previously managed for a variety of purposes, such as pastoral farming, charcoaling and timber. Beyond the practical, economic values relating to woodland that would have been transformed through clearance and construction, these environments would have held other significance, potentially extending from movement through the landscape to the religious significance of trees (Skoglund 2012).

Whilst full palaeoenvironmental sequences are rare, and grassland persisted on some sites prior to construction, such as at Uffington in Oxfordshire (Ingrem 2003), the evidence that the construction of others required the transformation of the landscape through woodland clearance demonstrates the physical impact of hillfort creation on the landscape. Even where palaeoenvironmental evidence is not available, the prominent position that many hillforts occupied within the landscape, as conspicuously visible features on the skyline, highlights the other ways in which their construction disrupted the environment. The visual prominence of many hillforts echoes that of many contemporaneous production sites, as demonstrated at sites in western Britain (Moore 2007). Whilst the geographical scale of this prominence varies between sites and across regions and periods (cf. Hamilton and Manley 2001), it is clear that themes of power and control were articulated through both the physical transformation of the landscape and the placement of monuments within visually prominent areas.

Whether or not the construction of a hillfort was pre-empted by the clearance of woodland, its creation marks a transformation of an area into a specific place defined by an enclosure determining an inside and an outside. At a broad level, some sites were certainly chosen on the basis of the natural affordances of the environment, such as access to raw materials or geologies, which would have been beneficial for the social definition and advantage of the group through the formalisation

of a particular locale. However, the specific locations for the construction of many hillforts were chosen on the basis of other factors relating to environmental transformation, such as visual prominence, and there has been much discussion relating to the significance of the creation of place through social activity and the creation of monuments (e.g. Tuan 1977; Bradley 1993; Tilley 1994; Bradley 1998). Within this context, the choice of location for the initial creation of hillforts would have been influenced by a variety of factors that held significance at varying spatial resolutions and, in some cases, will have occupied and formalised areas that were already considered to be places of significance within the landscape. The creation of the enclosures, with associated transformations of the environment and creation of visually prominent architecture, would have significantly altered the landscape, and would have privileged and reinforced authority by being identifiable and understood by individuals and populations at the time.

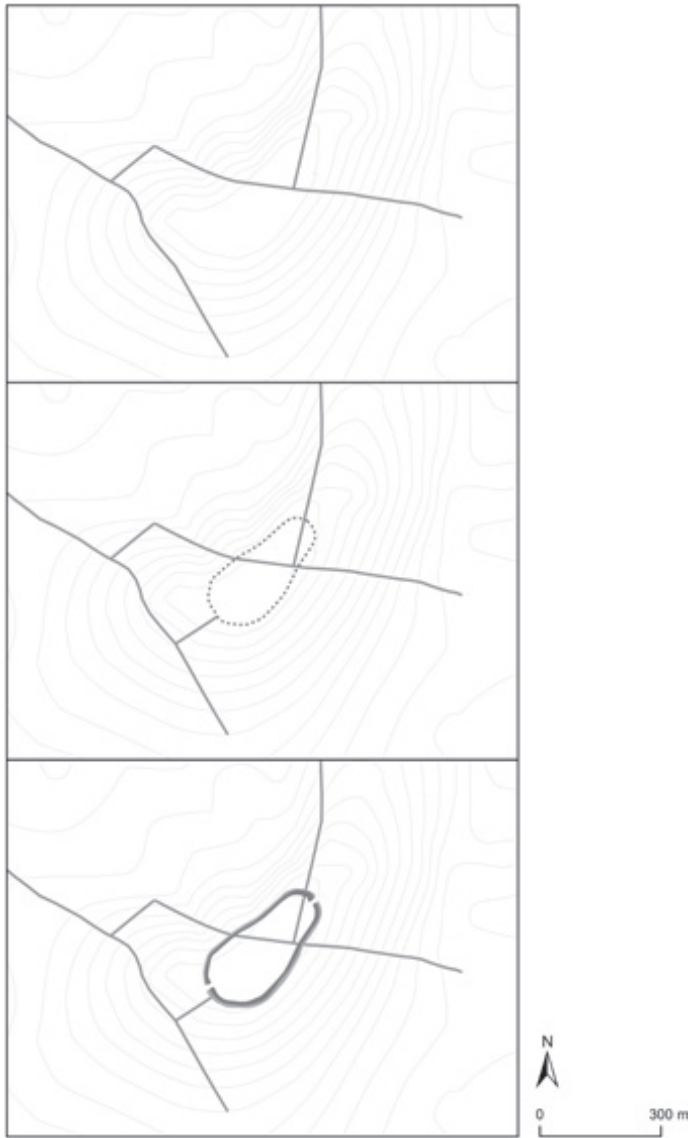
### **Transforming the cultural landscape**

It is challenging to consider any sense of a natural landscape in later prehistory because, in the majority of areas of north-western Europe, prehistoric human activity has been identified, at least at the macro scale. Even activities such as tree clearance for the creation of hillforts would have taken place within a cultural landscape; one where the woodlands themselves would have been used or perceived by communities in a variety of different ways. Alterations would therefore have impacted on them both economically and symbolically, and there are numerous cases where hillforts occupy site that have a longer history of cultural use and even constructed monuments. At Uffington Castle in Oxfordshire, the hillfort was constructed at the point where a linear ditch extending from the south and the route of the earlier Ridgeway meet. Although excavation of the linear ditch produced Romano-British pottery, OSL dating of basal deposits indicated that it could have originally been dug in the later Bronze Age, prior to the construction of the fort (Gosden and Lock 2003). GIS-based modelling of the route of the Ridgeway emphasised its relationships with Uffington Castle and other hillforts, providing the suggestion that the positioning of the forts and the orientation of their entrances echoed a potential earlier route of the Ridgeway, balancing this with the visual affordances that the site provided (Bell and Lock 2000; Gosden and Lock 2003).

The relationship between the positioning of Uffington Castle and the Ridgeway echoes that between hillforts and earlier ranch boundaries demonstrated at a number of sites, particularly across Wessex (e.g. Cunliffe 1990). In particular, four examples of hillforts from Hampshire reveal chronological relationships, including the comprehensively excavated example of Danebury. Here, prior to the establishment of the first hillfort in the sixth century BC, perhaps three distinct phases of enclosure occupied the site. These enclosures related to a system of linear ditches, and were positioned at the end of one that extended to the east for nearly 3km (Cunliffe and Poole 1991; Cunliffe 2011; 42). A similar pattern was observed at Quarley Hill, although here the pre-hillfort palisade enclosure



was positioned over the junction of the earlier, perhaps early first millennium BC, linear boundary (Figure 4.3). The construction of the palisaded enclosure appears to have been contemporary with the addition of an extra section of ditch leading up to its south-western edge (Hawkes 1939; Cunliffe 1990). Occupation debris from the enclosure indicated an early Iron Age date, prior to the modification of



*Figure 4.3* The development of the hillfort at Quarley Hill, Hampshire, between the eighth and fifth centuries BC. Contours are at 5m intervals. Based on Cunliffe (1990, 326, figure 3).

its circuit into a hillfort in the fifth century BC (see Cunliffe 1990, 327). Whilst less comprehensively excavated, the earlier landscape of the unfinished hillfort of Ladle Hill shared similarities to Danebury and Quarley Hill, with an earlier enclosure associated with a system of linear ditches, although in this instance, the enclosure was positioned at the end of one of these (Piggott 1931a; Cunliffe 1990, 327–328). Patterns indicating the positioning of hillforts in relation to earlier linear ditches were also identified at the site of Woolbury, which was located within a complex of earlier linear earthworks that continued to be farmed following the construction of the hillfort, probably in the fifth century BC (Cunliffe 1990, 328–329). This evidence from Hampshire indicates a continuity of landuse from the early first millennium BC through to the establishment of hillforts in the sixth and fifth centuries BC, although with shifting patterns of control. Other sites such as Sidbury in Wiltshire are likely to have shared similar sequences of development prior to hillfort construction (Cunliffe 2005, 422), and sites like Suddern Farm in Hampshire and Buzbury Rings in Dorset might reflect the earlier stages of enclosure relating to linear ditch systems, although in these cases, they were never to become formalised as hillforts (Cunliffe 1990).

For central southern Britain, the emergence of hillforts centred on modifications to the earlier cultural landscape. From the establishment of middle and late Bronze Age linear earthworks, hilltop enclosures emerged, sometimes at the junctions of these linear features, as at Quarley Hill and Woolbury, or at the ends of these linear earthworks, as at Danebury and Ladle Hill, between perhaps 900 and 600 BC. After around 600 BC, some of these enclosure sites developed into hillforts. However, by around 350 BC, several hillforts were abandoned or were little used, with a focus on a smaller number of developed hillforts (Cunliffe 2005, 420). It has been suggested that the development of hilltop enclosures at certain focal points within the earlier systems of linear earthworks, and the subsequent development of some of these sites into hillforts, reflects “a radical reorganisation in society’s conception of land ownership” (Cunliffe 1990, 334). This echoes a shift in the expression of authority from the acquisition and display of prestige objects and control of their distribution through to control of the productive capacity of the land. Hence, for central southern Britain at least, the appearance of hillforts as nodes within the landscape owes much to later prehistoric perceptions of the pre-existing cultural landscape. In contrast with the early first millennium BC, the developed hillforts appear to represent a significantly different approach to economics with increased centralisation of authority. Whilst the establishment of linear earthworks would have required considerable investment of labour, requiring some level of centralised direction and perhaps coercion, it has been suggested that the sheer scale of these features indicates a lack of private ownership (Cunliffe 1990, 335). However, the creation of hilltop enclosures provides a physical manifestation of emerging changes to themes of ownership and control of land; “a deliberate act designed to establish authority over land, the authority being now that of individuals or lineage groups who had by this stage acquired sufficient power to usurp existing traditions” (Cunliffe 1990, 335). The establishment of hillforts on some of these sites demonstrates a formalisation of this

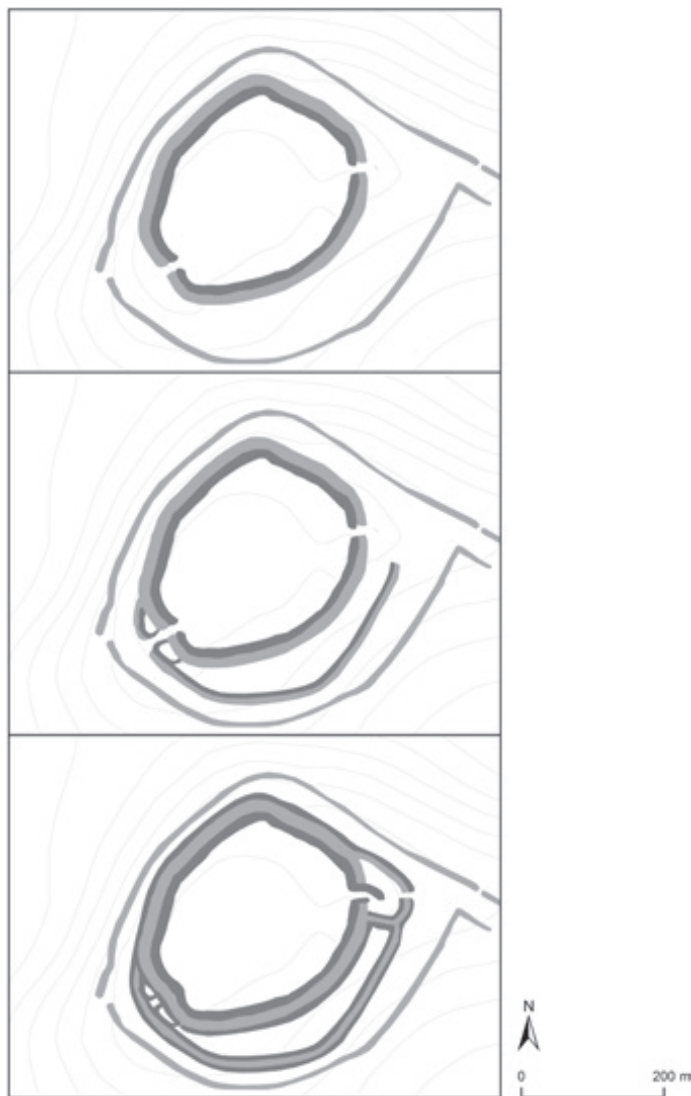
tradition, although the evidence of unfinished hillforts such as Ladle Hill, and the fact that many sites fell out of use by the middle of the fourth century BC, is indicative of a period of social instability during ongoing struggles for authority. The enclosing of focal points in the earlier cultural landscape built on, and disrupted, what had gone before. Even where additional linear ditches were added, as at Quarley Hill, the imposition of enclosures across the earlier linear earthwork systems were significant acts with highly visible transformations of the landscape. The precise nature and sequence of events would have been different at specific sites, but for each, the effect would have been dramatic. Even where farming practices remained largely unchanged, the imposition of the enclosures and the subsequent hillforts would have interrupted the ways in which fields were accessed and used within their proximity.

For some sites, the impact on the cultural landscape extended to the remains of much earlier activities. At Maiden Castle in Dorset, the initial hillfort phase incorporated the remains of a Neolithic causewayed enclosure and part of a bank barrow, in addition to lying at the centre of a network of earlier linear boundaries (Sharples 1991). Similarly, the site of Ladle Hill in Hampshire was located in an area containing five Bronze Age barrows of various types, including a disc barrow within its interior (Piggott 1931a). Whilst the later prehistoric appreciation of these earlier monuments is not known (cf. Bradley 2002), an understanding of the linear earthwork systems would have been possible. The creation of new enclosed places within these pre-existing cultural landscapes would not only have provided a material transformation of them through imposition, but would also have provided a means of maintaining and extending social power through the creation of new settings for its articulation (Tilley 1994, 27). The pre-established meanings associated with these sites might have enhanced the value of these locations, using them to validate links with the past. Hence, we can see the process of creating hilltop enclosures as both a process of destruction of the earlier landuse and a legitimisation of the new or continuing order through associations with the past. Perhaps in this respect, the maintenance of the adherence to celestial orientations of the entrances to hillforts across south-eastern England (Hamilton and Manley 2001) and Wessex (Hill 1996), as well as house entrances (Parker Pearson 1996; Oswald 1997), offers a counterpoint of continuity to the dramatic acts of transformation. Ultimately, the creation of hillforts transformed the landscape beyond the direct impacts on earlier monuments. The varying levels of visibility to and from these sites provided new ways of controlling communication and gave a constant presence. Perhaps like the erection of statues in public spaces during more recent times, the presence of a visible hillfort within the landscape provided a constant reminder to contemporaneous populations of the established authority in the region and the social and economic requirements that this entailed.

### Transforming hillforts

Whilst the forts at some sites such as Sutton Common were single phased (Van de Noort *et al.* 2007), many were modified throughout their existence, such as

Danebury and Maiden Castle. In addition to the creation of hillforts altering and transforming their locations and surrounding natural and cultural landscapes, modifications to them throughout their functional lives provide insight into the other moments of change. Some modifications to hillforts appear to have been primarily practical. Following the establishment of the first hillfort at Danebury in the early fifth century BC, successive architectural revisions of the site appear to have been primarily related to defence (Cunliffe 2011; Figure 4.4). The initial



*Figure 4.4* Phases in the development of the hillfort at Danebury in Hampshire. Contours are at 5m intervals. Based on Cunliffe (2011, 61, figure 34).

construction of a single timber-framed box rampart and external v-shaped ditch (c. 470–310 BC) was modified following the burning of the eastern gate (and probably the south-western gate as well) and, presumably, the decomposition of the timber. Rather than replacing the wooden box rampart structure, this second phase (c. 310–270 BC) comprised the re-cutting of the ditch and the addition of a thin capping of the rampart with chalk quarried from the interior of the fort. It might be assumed that the burning of the gates was due to conflict because this second phase included the construction of hornworks around the exterior of the south-western entrance and the addition of a second, external rampart around the southern edge of the site. Postholes around the eastern entrance indicate that this too was elaborated, perhaps with the creation of a tower structure. In the third phase of the ramparts (c. 270–50 BC), additional material was deposited on the tops of the banks, ensuring that the whole circuit was equally defended, as well as providing architectural consistency. In addition to the re-working of the banks, the v-shaped ditch was re-cut providing an internal incline that matched that of the outer edge of the ramparts. From the evidence of flint nodules recovered from slump material, it is likely that the crest of the ramparts was elaborated with a breastwork of dry-built flint walling. During the same phase, the entrances were also dramatically altered with the south-western entrance being blocked and the main, eastern entrance, being augmented through the addition of hornworks. Whilst the modifications to the site throughout its use can be explained in terms of the maintenance and development of a primarily defensive function, there are likely to have been other factors, as indicated by the visually impressive and imposing architecture of the site, particularly if the interpretation of the tower structure at the eastern entrance is accurate. However, the prolific discoveries of sling-shot stones at the site, coupled with the fact that the final events at the site, perhaps around or just after 100 BC, involved the burning of the eastern entrance once again, indicates that defence was a key motivation in the various modifications here.

A similar sequence of modification has been identified at the site of Uffington Castle, although the interpretation is quite different. Here, the initial phase of construction probably took place in the seventh century BC with the erection of a timber-framed box rampart structure with two opposing entrances. However, in the fourth century BC, with the timber structures having long decayed, the earthworks were re-modelled as dump ramparts, similar to the second phase of construction of Danebury, although at Uffington, the ramparts were marked by chalk and sarsen retaining curbs. At the same time, the eastern entrance to the site was blocked and it is likely that the outworks were added to the western entrance. This second phase of use did not include the re-use of any of the internal structures of the fort, and it was argued that “the ramparts, and working on their appearance, may have held a significance beyond the purely pragmatic, perhaps tied in with social identity and statements of social status” (Lock *et al.* 2003, 122). It appears likely that the modifications made to Uffington Castle in the fourth century were not primarily defensive. It is noteworthy that the shift from timber-framed box ramparts to dump ramparts in the fourth century BC reflects a broader pattern of architectural change across southern England (see Avery 1993). Furthermore,

the altering and blocking of gates to hillforts is not unusual nor is it confined to southern Britain, as demonstrated by the evidence from sites including Garn Boduan (Hogg 1962, 26) and the Wrekin Hillfort in Shropshire (Brown 2009, 64–65). However, such alteration of gates, including everything from their blocking to their elaboration, might not only be interpreted in terms of practical functionality. As Harold Mytum (1996) has noted, the size and complexity of gateways served additional monumental or symbolic functions. Hence, the blocking of these marked both an end to egress and the alteration of the symbolic effect they had, particularly in areas such as the south-western gateway of Danebury which still retained its hornworks following its blocking.

Perhaps the most elaborately re-modelled hillfort is that of Maiden Castle in Dorset, excavated in the 1930s (Wheeler 1943) and the 1980s (Sharples 1991). The first hillfort was constructed over the site of a Neolithic causewayed enclosure and enclosed an area of 6.4ha with a single dump rampart bank and v-shaped ditch. At this stage, the hillfort had two entrances. The entrance to the north-west was defined by a single break in the earthworks accompanied by a timber-framed box rampart immediately adjacent to the entrance, whilst the entrance to the east was defined by two breaks. Modifications to the early structure included the elaboration to the eastern entrance with the addition of outworks with dry-stone facing. The second principal phase, commencing in the middle of the fifth century BC, enlarged the site to enclose an area of 19ha; nearly three times that of the initial hillfort. This expansion, initially defined by a single bank and ditch, appears to coincide with the abandonment of nearby hillforts, including those at Poundbury and Chalbury, although Poundbury appears to have been re-occupied shortly before the Roman Conquest (Lawson 1990, 284). It was followed by an almost continuous process of aggrandisement of the defences, resulting in the heightening of the banks, the deepening of the ditches, the addition of multiple circuits of ramparts and the elaboration of the entrances with outworks. On the south side of the site, this amounted to four ramparts with three ditches.

The expansion of Maiden Castle during the middle Iron Age reflects a pattern seen elsewhere, with well-known multivallate sites including Hod Hill in Dorset (Richmond 1968) and South Cadbury in Somerset (Alcock 1975; 1980). In these cases, an argument can be made regarding the centralisation of control over agricultural resources, echoed by the reduction in occupation of nearby hillforts and an increase in occupation at these sites. Hence, the aggrandisement of these sites reflects increased centralisation of power and control. In the area of Dorchester, the abandonment of sites like Poundbury indicates a focus of available labour for the development of Maiden Castle (Lawson 1990, 284), and this almost certainly reflects significant changes over time relating to the formalisation and legitimisation of the control of regions beyond the immediate landscape. Such changes, manifest in the repeated acts of creation seen in the architecture of developed hillforts like Maiden Castle or Old Oswestry in Shropshire (Hughes 1996), also provided material reminders of the demise of the less successful sites.

## **Destruction, abandonment and demise of hillforts**

The demise of particular hillfort sites took place at different times and for different reasons, although the different periods of abandonment can, conceptually at least, be divided into different phases. The first phase of abandonment includes hilltop enclosures, many of which did not become hillforts. Current understanding of most hilltop enclosures is relatively limited, and there is evidence from multi-period sites that activity extended into the Roman period (Cunliffe 1990, 333). However, we might assume that at least some of the earlier hilltop enclosures became abandoned or shifted in their functions as others were re-modelled to become hillforts.

The second period of abandonment followed the early flurry of hillfort construction, when only a small number of sites continued to be used after the middle of the first millennium BC. From perhaps the fourth century BC, the aggrandisement of some sites such as Maiden Castle was matched by the apparent abandonment or changes in use of other hillforts such as Poundbury. This appears to have been a period of coalescence, with the result of greater concentrations of power expressed through a smaller number of sites. This emerging dominance of a higher concentration of elite individuals and groups was presumably developed in parallel with the drawing up of alliances between the previous leaders of smaller territories. In the South Downs, this period of change resulted in a reduction to just a third of the previous number of hillforts and the amalgamation of associated territories (Cunliffe 2005, 389; Harding 2012, 277). However, this trend might have been more complex. From those sites where their interiors have been excavated, it is clear that different hillforts had differing densities of occupation and probably served very different functions. Furthermore, the number of excavated sites remains low and it is possible that such variation was the norm (Harding 2012, 279). In which case, the abandonment of some hillforts might reflect a concentration of these distributed activities rather than a strict hierarchical compression.

The final period of abandonment occurred at the transition between the second and first centuries BC. Whilst there remains some debate regarding the drivers behind this, from considerations of both indigenous developments and external factors, the period saw the abandonment of large numbers of hillfort sites. At the same time, the emergence of new ditched enclosures, such as those excavated at Great Woodbury in Wiltshire and Suddern Farm in Hampshire, the latter having two large ditches dug at this time, might indicate an alternative to hillforts (Cunliffe 1994). As these large ditched enclosures were being constructed or modified, the role of hillforts as centres of activity reduced, although the use of features such as shrines appears to have continued. In the first half of the first century AD, Danebury was largely abandoned following the burning of the eastern gateway, although a different type of occupation continued for more than a hundred years. Similar abandonment is visible across much of Hampshire and Sussex, although further west hillforts continued to be used. This is well demonstrated by the longevity of sites such as Maiden Castle and Hod Hill, which continued in use until they were taken by Vespasian's Roman forces in AD 43 (Todd 1990, 76).



A factor that foreshadowed the demise of hillforts across southern and south-eastern England at the start of the first century BC was the rise of different settlement forms; a fact that provides some explanation for the continuation of hillforts to the west beyond the area that this new form influenced. These large urban centres, or *oppida*, often located in nodal positions such as major river crossings and valley-side sites, were quite different to the earlier hilltop fortifications. From the decades either side of 100 BC, new centres were established including those at Winchester in Hampshire and Dyke Hills in Oxfordshire, the latter encompassing an area of about 25ha (Cunliffe 2005, 402–403), dwarfing even that of Maiden Castle. Examples at Abingdon, Oxfordshire and Silchester in Hampshire are even larger, the latter encompassing an area of about 35ha. Over subsequent decades, even larger, though unenclosed, urban centres developed. The growth of urban centres in southern Britain postdates similar developments in continental Europe. At the same time as the construction of early hillforts in England, urban centres were starting to develop across central Europe (Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2014). However, the emergence of *oppida* dates to around 130 to 100 BC, and might be related to the expansion of Rome into southern Gaul at this time (Collis 2014, 20). The classification of *oppida* largely rests on four principal criteria, relating to urbanisation, fortification, size and date. These criteria enable distinctions to be made with hillforts (without urban functions) and open settlements (without fortifications), although, given the broad range of sites that are classed in this way, and the lack of consistency of these factors between sites, it has been suggested that they might not represent a single category of site (Woolf 1993). However, the size and fortifications of some sites do indicate a very significant expression of centralised power. Sites such as Mont Beuvray (Bibracte) in eastern France, Manching in southern Germany (Krämer 1960; Sievers 2002) and Zavíst in Bohemia each enclose massive areas with complex ramparts such as the *muris gallicis* constructions. The identification of a new formal approach route to Entremont (Armit *et al.* 2012) would seem to reflect this requirement for at least some *oppida* sites to be visually impressive symbols of power and control within the landscape.

Whilst the traditional model of urban development has been challenged by investigations of contemporaneous sites within the environs of *oppida* that indicate a more complex pattern of settlement and social change (e.g. Moore *et al.* 2013), some sites demonstrate significant material transformations of the landscape echoing centralised control in terms of labour, resources and planning. Perhaps the suggestion of increased social upheaval and instability during the end of the first millennium BC (*ibid.*, 510) could be seen as driving the need for the creation of such visible physical statements of power. If, in addition to economic functions, these sites were built and used to emphasise centralised political and religious functions, then they might be considered as physical articulations of increased hierarchy and a centralising ideology (Fernández-Götz 2014). As noted by Manuel Fernández-Götz, the development of *oppida* from earlier sanctuaries, as at Entremont in southern France, might indicate that such religion, power and, ultimately, ideology were at the heart of their function. Hence, the highly visible

and impressive monumental architecture represented by some of these sites might be read as a tangible symbol of imposed, or at least centralised, ideology across the population within a period of social upheaval.

### Transforming the landscape through monumental architecture

The sheer scale and complexity of the earthworks at developed hillforts such as Maiden Castle was excessive for purely defence (Cunliffe 1995, 50), indicating an imbalance between practical functionality and the effort in construction. Such imbalance is not limited to hillforts, and is expressed in other examples of monumental architecture. The massive timber alignments along the River Waveney, dividing the counties of Norfolk from Suffolk, provide examples of highly visible monuments that would have transformed their landscapes as symbols of identity, control and power. Near the town of Beccles, Suffolk, excavations identified a timber alignment nearly 500m long and defined by three rows of massive stakes (Gearey *et al.* 2011, 2016). The timber used for the initial phase of construction consisted of overgrown coppiced oak up to fifty-three years old. Stakes were positioned in triplets, with an average distance of 3m between each group. If this density is extrapolated over the full length of the structure, the monument would have represented at least 500 individual timbers, reflecting the transformation of a significant area of woodland (Figure 4.5). The impact of this clearance event is further demonstrated by the dendrochronological dating of the timber that provided a consistent felling date in the spring of 75 BC. In places, additional stakes were set into the structure, presumably as replacements, although the precise chronology of these could not be established.

The function of the site at Beccles is challenging to determine. Localised brushwood trackways appear to have been used in the site's construction, and it is likely that the three post-alignments constrained a trackway. The overall width of the timber alignment was around 4m, although, with the central alignment in place,



*Figure 4.5* One of the stakes from the site of Beccles in Suffolk, showing evidence of carpentry. This 2m long stake was one of at least 500 used in the construction of the monument.

movement would have been restricted to two avenues, each less than 1.8m wide, on either side of the central line. In terms of destination, the alignment extended from an island of dry land that now supports the town of Beccles towards the River Waveney, but took a much longer route across the marshes than would have been necessary if the destination was the river. On the opposite side of the Waveney, the dry land rises rapidly, and it is possible that the alignment led to a standing on this side. Any functional interpretation of the triple-post alignment at Beccles is hampered by inconsistencies. The route does not mark the shortest distance across the marshes and the River Waveney, running parallel to it for much of its length. If its primary function was associated with the trackway, then the middle row of posts would have served as an obstacle to movement. Furthermore, the sheer size of the timbers represents well in excess of the effort that would have been needed for the site to make practical sense. Rather, the site is better understood in relation to movement along the River Waveney, being a highly visible marker in the landscape (Gearey *et al.* 2016).

A similar site was excavated 3km to the west, upstream of the Beccles site on Barsham Marshes where a 30m length of a triple alignment of oak timbers was excavated, approximately 90m from its nearest dryland edge (Krawiec *et al.* 2011; Gearey *et al.* 2016). It is possible that this feature was originally part of a longer alignment that joined up with a similar site on the opposite side of the River Waveney at Geldeston in Norfolk, where a 28m long section of a similar alignment was excavated, extending to its northern terminal (Gearey *et al.* 2016; Figure 4.6). If this was the case, then the combined site would have been perhaps 800m long, indicating a considerable investment of managed timber and labour. The dating from both sites indicates variation but also some chronological overlap between the excavated areas on Barsham Marshes and at Geldeston. At Barsham,



Figure 4.6 Locations of the excavated sites at Beccles, Barsham and Geldeston, showing the conjectured continuations of the monuments.

dendrochronology indicated a date of construction (or perhaps repair) at between 8 BC and AD 8. The majority of samples dated from the site at Geldeston were older, ranging from 97 BC to the winter of 84/83 BC, although one sample dated to the winter of 2/1 BC. It seems likely that the site was repaired over time and then, if this was the case, whether or not the two excavations reflect a single site or two separate sites, it is possible that elements of both remained as landscape features by the end of the first century BC. On both the sites at Beccles and Geldeston, fragments of pottery were found broken in association with the alignments. The distribution of the sherds indicated that they had been placed deliberately within discrete locations, but the sherds did not represent complete pots. The excavation conditions would have allowed for the recovery of all sherds, and the wet conditions would have made it unlikely that sherds would have been discovered and recovered soon after deposition. Hence, the lack of elements of each pot indicated that these fragments had been purposely removed, retained for another purpose or deposited elsewhere on the site.

The sites from the Waveney valley represent a previously unknown monument type, although they share similarities with the earlier site of Fiskerton in Lincolnshire (Field and Parker Pearson 2003) and continental bridge sites such as those at La Tène in Switzerland. The chronological relationship between the Beccles site and the Barsham/Geldeston site indicates a repeated practice over perhaps a century. When the first of these monuments was constructed at Geldeston, it would have represented a transformation of the landscape as a firm and highly visible symbol of identity. The building of the second site at Beccles perhaps two decades later, the subsequent maintenance of Geldeston at the end of the first century BC, and the maintenance/construction at Barsham between 8 BC and AD 8 (a combined period of perhaps a century), would have resulted in a continued and highly visible symbol of power. These sites would have interrupted the experience of travelling along the River Waveney, providing an unavoidable expression of identity and control within the region. It is possible that these sites served other functions, such as providing access across the wetlands, which were grazed seasonally by cattle, or for religious purposes, but their primary function appears to have been one of symbolic power. Perhaps the greatest question that these sites present is why, after persisting for around a century of use did the tradition finally end? The sheer extent of these sites extends well beyond any purely practical or technological interpretation. Their construction would each have required extensive, long-term woodland management and, through their creation, would not only have created highly visible markers within the landscape, but would also have resulted in significant changes to wooded areas through tree clearance. It is possible that this over-engineering in the creation of sites during the early first century BC echoes the tradition of highly elaborate developed hill-forts, some of which continued into this period. As with other monuments, these alignments altered the landscape through the imposition of new signs that privileged the intentions of the architects, as symbols of identity. Perhaps sites such as those from Suffolk and Norfolk reflect a different type of visible control of areas compared with hillforts, as an alternative method for achieving a similar effect.

**Sacred sites**

But thus shall ye deal with them; ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images, and cut down their groves, and burn their graven images with fire.  
(*Deuteronomy* 7:5)

Then ye shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you, and destroy all their pictures, and destroy all their molten images, and quite pluck down all their high places.

(*Numbers* 33:52)

The Germans do not think it in keeping with the divine majesty to confine gods within walls or to portray them in the likeness of any human countenance. Their holy places are woods and groves, and they apply the names of deities to that hidden presence which is seen only by the eye of reverence.

(Tacitus, *Germania* 9; trans. Mattingly 1970, 109)

The definition of sacred spaces is challenging and might include natural places, built structures and sites associated with funerary activities. Classical authors, such as Julius Caesar and Strabo, writing of the area that is now southern France, highlighted the presence of sacred sites and shrines located within woodland, associated with lakes or pools, or focused on offshore islands. The sacred nature of natural places, such as springs, bogs and rivers is demonstrated by votive deposits, although it is also likely that significant physical markers in the landscape, such as old trees or large rocks, might have served similar functions (Cunliffe 2005, 566). The importance of particular trees such as oak, in addition to the use of groves as sacred sites was noted by the first century AD author Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis Historia* (XVI: 95). If natural features within the landscape provided the vast majority of sites for targeted religious activities, it raises the challenge of identification, particularly where the natural features concerned are unlikely to leave a significant trace in the archaeological or palaeoenvironmental record beyond identifying the presence of specific trees and other plants. Whilst it is possible that natural areas that acted as sacred places included small built structures, their identification has eluded archaeologists. Where built structures have been found, they are more frequently dated to the later Iron Age and are most commonly associated with other structures. However, the low numbers of known shrine sites from the Iron Age indicates that the construction of buildings for religious purposes was the exception rather than the rule. Within this context, this section explores themes of transformation in relation to the creation of sacred sites where identifiable, in addition to exploring wider themes relating to their destruction.

**Creation of sacred sites**

Whilst it seems likely that the vast majority of sacred sites from later prehistory will remain invisible to archaeologists, the examples of built shrines provide a

narrow basis for considering the act of creating sacred places (Figure 4.7). In Britain, the construction of shrines appears to have been in association with other structures, and particularly with hillforts, often positioned in central or significant places (Woodward 1995). At the site of South Cadbury in Somerset, a rectangular porched shrine structure was positioned in a prominent location at the end of a path lined with about twenty burials of young domestic animals including primarily newly born calves, as well as pigs and lambs, interpreted as sacrifices at the front of the shrine (Alcock 1975, 84). At Danebury, a series of four rectangular buildings interpreted as shrines was positioned towards the centre of the fort on the false crest of the hill when viewed from the entrance, and aligned to respect pathways through the site (Cunliffe 1993, 71). Whilst the hillfort persisted through numerous generations of occupants, the earliest rectangular shrine structure at Danebury dated from the early or middle phase of the site. From this inception, successive shrine structures continued to be used throughout the rest of the site's functional life. The central area occupied by the shrines was positioned away from the houses, which were located around the inner edges of the ramparts. In addition to the rectangular shrine structures, the central area also contained pits, and there is strong evidence to suggest that these also held symbolic and ritual significance (Cunliffe 2011, 102–104). At Maiden Castle, a circular shrine structure was identified within the eastern part of the site, apparently constructed at the end of a route that extended from the eastern entrance to the hillfort (Sharples 1991). In the majority of cases, the siting of shrine structures within hillforts was central, either in plan or by visual approach, with houses, storage pits and buildings relating to industrial and agricultural activity separate from them (Woodward 1992, 18–19). At sites including Danebury, South Cadbury, Heathrow and Little Waltham, shrines occupied relatively open areas, away from domestic and industrial buildings.

Iron Age ritual complexes and shrines have also been identified from areas outside of and adjacent to hillforts. At Uley in Gloucestershire, the remains of a ritual complex, including structures, pits, votive deposits and infant burials, was identified within an earlier, Neolithic ditched enclosure to the north of Uley Bury hillfort (Woodward and Leach 1993). Similarly, the shrine at Henley Wood in Somerset was identified to the north of the hillfort of Cadbury Congresbury (Watts and Leach 1996). It has been noted that some of these sites might have been positioned in highly visible locations, such as the structure at Uley, which would probably have been visible from the later temple complex at Lydney (Woodward 1992, 23).

Away from hillforts, the numbers of known Iron Age shrines are more limited. In rural areas, a few are known from hilltop locations, such as Harlow in Essex, although there are more examples from low-lying areas. Excavated examples include Heathrow in west London (Grimes 1948; Grimes *et al.* 1993), Stansted in Essex and Hayling Island in Hampshire (Cunliffe 2005, 562–566), the latter being positioned in a relatively isolated position within an otherwise flat, fertile area. These shrine sites are commonly associated with watercourses and areas of past woodland, indicating a closer link to natural places and the types of sites that have been identified through the discovery of votive deposits. Deposition of



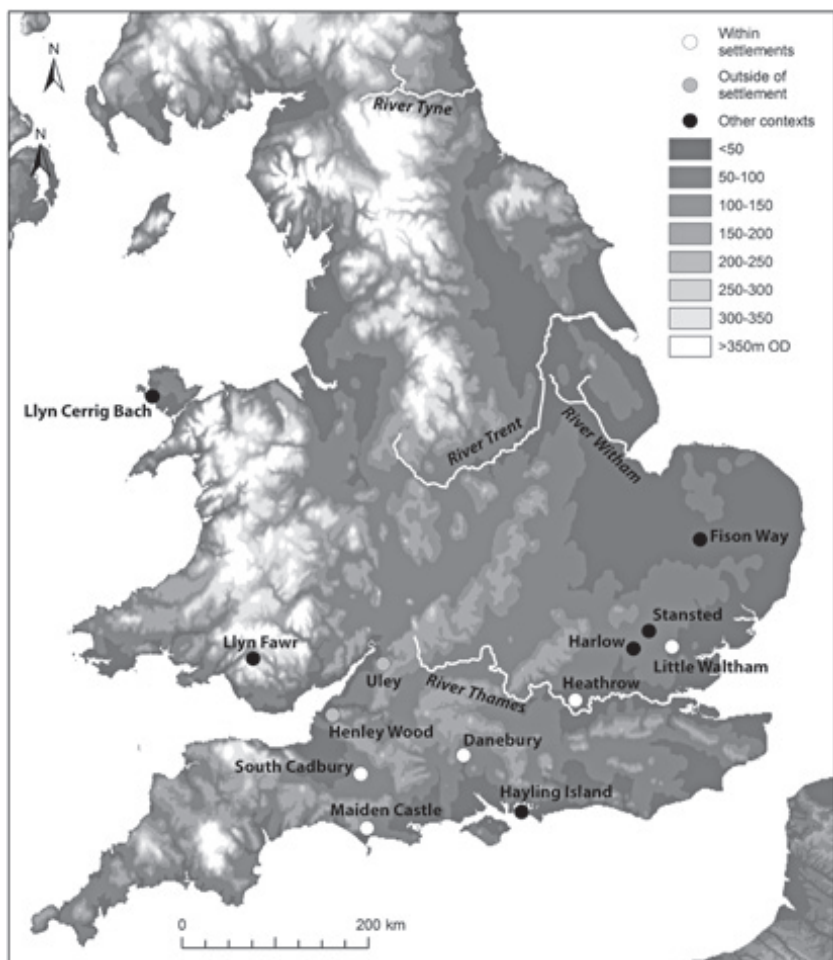


Figure 4.7 Locations mentioned in the text relating to sacred sites, showing the positions of those within hillforts and settlements, those located outside or adjacent to settlements and those from other contexts. The principal rivers where votive deposition has been identified are highlighted.

metalwork, exotic items and human remains within rivers such as the Thames (e.g. Lawrence 1929; Stead 1985; Bradley and Gordon 1988), Witham, Trent and Tyne (Bradley 1990, 179), or within wet places such as Llyn Cerrig Bach on Anglesey (Fox 1947; Lynch 1970) and Llyn Fawr in Glamorganshire (Davies and Lynch 2000), might reflect the spiritual significance of these specific places (Fitzpatrick 1984), despite the fact that they were never apparently developed through the imposition of built structures.

Many of the known Iron Age shrines were remodelled and re-used following the Roman conquest (see below) and so it is likely that further investigations of



Roman temples might reveal earlier precursors and increase the number of known prehistoric sites (see Cunliffe 2005, 565). A similar challenge in the identification of early shrines lies in the similarities of circular structures and domestic buildings, such as those from Maiden Castle and Hayling Island. However, despite the low number of known Iron Age sites, some patterns can be identified. The examples of shrines that are associated with natural features such as rivers and springs indicate a tangible link with natural sacred sites that are otherwise more problematic to identify. With these sites, one can assume that there were numerous natural shrines that are unlikely to be discoverable but, together with evidence from votive deposition and hoards, it can be argued that the majority of formal religious activity focused on natural features. In some cases, these relationships were formalised through the building of structures. It is possible that hilltop sites served a similar function, marking significant landforms, although other interpretations are also feasible.

The natural site locations lie in stark contrast with those that were planned and developed on, and in relation to, settlement and hillfort sites. In these examples, the placing of shrines appears to reflect a purposeful demarcation of public space. The positioning of shrines is generally within prominent locations and separate from houses. In contrast with natural sites, these locations drew the sacred to within the confines of enclosure, generating compartmentalised sacred space; a process of formalisation that commenced early on at sites such as Danebury. Whilst the exact function of shrines is hard to interpret, the establishment of purpose-built structures within a controlled public space might be seen as an attempt to formalise and control religious activity of populations. Outside of these enclosures, the formalisation of pre-existing natural sites by the addition of shrine structures can be viewed as a conceptually similar process of sanctioning. Hence, throughout the Iron Age, it seems likely that sacred spaces were increasingly controlled and incorporated within wider social structures; the building of shrine structures marked a transformation in how sacred space was negotiated and, by placing them within hillfort structures, emphasised a departure from the significance of natural spaces to the incorporation of religion within controlled public spaces.

### **Destruction of sacred sites**

The formalisation of sacred spaces, whether relating to natural places or the constructed spaces within settlement areas, created new structures through which the sacred could be accessed by later prehistoric populations. This formalisation can be seen as a form of destruction, although there are examples of sacred sites being actively and physically destroyed. After perhaps half a century of use, the sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre in northern France was systematically dismantled before being replaced by a Gallo-Roman religious precinct (Green 2005, 111). The nearby sanctuary of Gournay-sur-Aronde appears to have been burned and levelled in the first century BC after three centuries of use, with a similar temple occupying it at a later date. Similarly, at Fison Way in Thetford, East Anglia, a temple within what was described as an artificial oak grove was

destroyed by Roman forces following the suppression of the Iceni uprising in the first century AD (Gregory 1991). In these cases, it can be assumed that the sites themselves held significance to populations beyond their physical existence and so acts of destruction against them would have been seen as attacks on what they symbolised.

For sacred sites that are focused on natural places, the act of destruction is both challenging to identify and more difficult to interpret. As Sauer (2014, 25) noted, acts of iconoclasm in aniconic areas or periods can frequently be targeted towards sacred trees or woodland, leaving little or no physical trace. For societies who viewed the divine as residing or immanent within the natural world, the alteration of any elements of this, such as an area of woodland or perhaps even a specific place or tree, would have carried meaning beyond, for example, the practical loss of resources. Whilst the archaeological evidence for the destruction of sacred woodlands during later prehistory is lacking, written sources from the first century AD provide indications of such events taking place.

Writing over a century after the event described, Lucan (*Pharsalia* 3.399–454; trans. Graves 1956, 78–79) provides an account of the destruction of an area of sacred woodland during an episode of tree clearance for the acquisition of timber for the construction of a fort from which to conduct the assault of *Massilia* (modern Marseille) in 49 BC during the Civil War. Within the woodland, Lucan described how the soldiers came across an ancient and sacred grove, identifiable without any formal or built structure, but by crude imagery and the residue of ceremonies. The effect of the discovery terrified the soldiers who were awed by “the loneliness and solemnity” of the grove, being unable to use their axes for supernatural fear until, Lucan tells us, Caesar himself led the felling by example, taking responsibility of the sacrilege of the act. The destruction was observed by Gauls who grieved for the loss, but also by Caesar’s enemy besieged within the garrison who rejoiced at the event, expecting divine punishment to fall upon their opponents.

The passage by Lucan provides two key insights relating to the identification of the sacred woodland and to its destruction. First, it indicates how, even without any apparent built structures, the sacred site was recognisable, and that this was due to the effigies, in addition to the residues of ceremonial activities, with altars “heaped with hideous offerings, and every tree was sprinkled with human blood”. It is clear that the grove itself represented something sacred and that it symbolised something quite different compared with the surrounding areas of woodland. The second insight from the passage relates to the nature of the destruction. Whilst the initial motivation appears not to have been to destroy the sacred site, but rather to obtain timber from the woodland that contained it for the construction of revetments, its discovery necessitated its destruction. At the start of Lucan’s passage, the terror experienced by the soldiers is described as being due in part to the darkness of the grove resulting from the “interlacing branches” that “enclosed a cool central space into which the sun never shone”. Hence, the only way to destroy the terror was to chop it down and let in light (Leigh 2010). In the passage, Caesar makes it clear that, by chopping at the trees, he was committing an act of

sacrilege and, by destroying religious imagery, one of iconoclasm. This is also reflected by the response from Gauls who observe the act of destruction. It seems from Lucan's account that the act of destruction focused, initially at least, on the removal of branches and foliage that allowed daylight to enter the grove. Whether the trees themselves were cut down is unclear, with the only indication being the pragmatic requirement for timber. It is of course possible that Lucan was merely elaborating on Caesar's own account, which lacks such details (Caesar, *Commentaries on the Civil War* 2.1.4). Given the long period between the event described and Lucan's writing, it is very possible that the act of iconoclasm did not actually take place, or that it is significantly embellished. It has even been suggested that the violation of the grove might be a deliberate allegory presented by Lucan for the subsequent violation of Caesar's body following his assassination (Augoustakis 2006).

A similar act of destruction relating to sacred woodland is described by Cornelius Tacitus, writing towards the end of the first century AD.<sup>1</sup> Over a century after the events in *Massilia*, those described by Tacitus took place on the island of *Mona Insulis* (Anglesey, North Wales). From the late AD 50s, the Roman governor of Britain, Quintus Veranius, and his successor Gaius Suetonius Paulinus, undertook a series of aggressive campaigns aimed at the subjugation of the tribes of Wales (Todd 1990, 88–89). In around AD 60, this culminated in the conquest of Anglesey, which, as Tacitus tells us (*Annals* 14, 29), was a stronghold and haven for fugitives. The Roman army crossed the Menai Strait but, upon reaching the beach on the opposite side, they were faced by both the opposing army in addition to a host of druids “pouring forth curses, hands heavenward” accompanied by numerous women “fury-like in funereal dress, hair loose, brandishing torches” (Tacitus, *Annals* 14.30; trans. Damon 2012, 289). In Tacitus' account, this spectacle initially paralysed the Roman soldiers in fear, requiring reassurance from their leader before they were able to continue their advance and win the battle. However, although the enemy had been conquered, the perceived symbolism of the nearby sacred groves described as “sacred to cruel beliefs” presented an additional threat. As a consequence, Suetonius ordered that they be destroyed.

As with Caesar's attack on the sacred grove near *Massilia*, the act of destruction described by Tacitus was clearly intended as an attack on what the site symbolised, and the power that it was perceived to have. Whilst, unlike Lucan, Tacitus provides no description of the symbolism contained within the groves, what they represented as sacred sites was somehow clear to the aggressors. Perhaps Tacitus' mention of how the natives used “captive blood to anoint altars and human innards to consult gods” (Tacitus, *Annals* 14.30; trans. Damon 2012, 289) provides an indication of what may have been represented within the groves, although this could equally be supposition. However, the fact that the groves were understood to represent something sacred, and were destroyed for this reason, highlights how this was again an act of iconoclasm, where the trees themselves reflected powerful icons that were attacked in order to dispel them as both symbols and areas of perceived threat.

When we consider these acts of destruction, however, there appear to be problems. Lucan's description of the grove near *Massilia* clearly describes the trees and the way that their branches create darkness, with the act of destruction, initially at least, aimed at letting in light. However, Tacitus' description of the attack on the groves on *Mona Insulis* is less clear. A closer inspection of the language that Tacitus uses does little to clarify things. In the original text, Tacitus describes the grove on Anglesey as *excisique luci*. *Lucus*, the singular of the word *luci*, is one of four Latin words described by Servius Auctus (*ad Aen* 1.310) for forest/woodland/grove, the others being *nemus* (arboretum – not consecrated), *silva* (natural forest) and *saltus* (wilderness) (see Green 2007, 25). For Servius, *lucus* referred to “a large number of trees with a religious significance”. The word *lucus* also refers to light, or the letting in of light (*lucendo*). Given that Tacitus describes multiple groves (*excisique luci*), it seems most likely that he was referring to numerous clearings encompassed by trees. If this was the case, then it is curious to consider what was actually being destroyed by the Roman forces in AD 60. Did the attacks take place on the clearings themselves and, if so, how? Or were they focused on the trees that defined these clearings?

Whilst it might not be possible to identify the specifics of an event such as this, the available palaeoenvironmental evidence from the region does provide a useful backdrop relating to woodland during the period. Evidence from a sampling site on the opposite side of the Menai Strait indicates that there was deliberate clearance of woodland coupled with increased arable cultivation from 2250 to 2000 BP, with another major clearance event around 1700 BP, with the irreversible decline in woodland not beginning until 1250 BP (Watkins *et al* 2007). This indicates that woodland prevailed on Anglesey in the first century AD, so it is not unreasonable to assume that, prior to the destruction by Roman forces, the areas could have been wooded with clearings, or *luci*. In the example of Suetonius, we see an act of iconoclasm that was presumably focused on the trees that encircled the open groves. Whilst it might be possible to destroy or desecrate a sacred area using a variety of sacrilegious ways, it is perhaps most likely, given the language used by Tacitus, that the focus was on the destruction of the encircling trees rather than on the open spaces themselves. However, this interpretation does raise the question of how many trees needed to be destroyed before the sacred groves were rendered irreversibly finished?

The examples from *Massilia* and *Mona Insulis* highlight the difficulty in identifying many later prehistoric sacred sites from the archaeological evidence alone. In both cases, the descriptions make no mention of features that could be recognised unequivocally through fieldwork and thus demonstrate the limitations of our knowledge relating to religious sites from the period. The examples also highlight the potential for iconoclastic acts against sacred sites. For Caesar, the site at *Massilia* was a chance encounter, but one that needed to be removed. Following its recognition as a sacred site, the decision to destroy it was an act intended to destroy its sanctity. For Suetonius, the groves on *Mona Insulis* were also understood as sacred, but with the additional consideration that they presented a more direct threat as symbols of power. Perhaps rather than merely being inappropriate

religious symbols, they were destroyed due to what they represented to the enemy, as indicated in Bruno Latour's third iconoclastic gesture (Latour 2002, 20). The level of destruction and its level of reversibility is unknown (cf. Rambelli and Reinders 2012, 181), although it can be assumed that the destruction of woodland through the felling of trees would have left a considerable residue including cut timber and tree stumps. For the native population returning to the site on *Mona Insulis*, the physical reminder of the desecration would have remained visible for a considerable time.

Evidence for the direct and aggressive destruction of sacred sites, such as the groves of *Massilia* and *Mona Insulis*, is rare, although indications of the potential acculturation of religious sites is more tangible. Of the known pre-Roman temple sites, the majority show evidence of being absorbed into subsequent Roman buildings. In some cases, the Romano-British temples was positioned directly on top of the earlier structures, such as with the example from Hayling Island in Hampshire (Woodward 1995, 22–23). In other instances, the later structures were built within the same area. At Maiden Castle, Dorset, a rectangular Roman temple was constructed just over 10m away from the circular Iron Age building (Woodward 1995, 18). The large number of cases where prehistoric shrines continued to be used, modified or re-built during the Roman period provide insight into the intentionality of change, but also a challenge for understanding the demise of Iron Age practices. The apparent continuity of use, either of the structures themselves or of the sites that they occupied, coupled with similarities in the architectural form between the structures from both periods, indicates a process of syncretism. The re-use of sacred sites served to eradicate the earlier belief practices through removal and imposition of new practices, whilst also marrying the old and new practices together by maintaining similarity. It is possible that the creation of some Iron Age shrines and the formalisation of sacred places had a similar impact on earlier landscapes, although perhaps in a less direct way. The associations with earlier monuments, such as the Neolithic linear mound within Maiden Castle or Bronze Age barrows on numerous sites, might indicate similar processes of re-appropriation or reinforcement of places that were already marked as sacred. Whilst there are few examples of direct destruction of sacred sites and shrines, the frequent examples of modification provided a way of removing earlier practices by incorporation rather than through direct removal. The rate of change can be hard to define accurately, and it is not known the extent to which such changes were imposed or encouraged. The physical transformation was slight, but the meanings of sites occupied were transformed through modifications in the symbolism they held, the ways in which they were used and, presumably, the language that was associated with them.

### **Neglect as a form of destruction**

Not all sites that enter the archaeological record were deliberately deconstructed or re-occupied, with many sites merely becoming abandoned or simply left to decay. It has been highlighted that, within the scale of unintentional and intentional

destruction, a central aspect can be neglect or a passive response to deterioration, and defining such actions as potentially iconoclastic (Rambelli and Reinders 2012, 177). One of the challenges when interpreting the archaeological record is determining what the intentionality behind acts of neglect actually might have been. A starting point for this lies in making sense of the moments when construction was completed, when maintenance stopped or when sites were abandoned or neglected. These moments of change indicate a shift in priorities; the abandonment of many hillforts might have been due to socio-economic pressures resulting in centralisation within specific sites. The abandonment of the earlier sites leaves them as symbols of the previous world, remaining visible within the newly socially constructed landscape. As Bradley puts it, “they could be ignored or even destroyed, or their significance would need to be interpreted” (Bradley 2002, 156). Prior to this, sites may have been frequently modified and materially altered throughout their functional life. Within a context of such ongoing change, it is challenging to define when abandonment and neglect occurred, either apparently prior to completion, as might have been the case for Ladle Hill, or following completion. Before it is possible to understand notions of destruction through abandonment or neglect, it is necessary to understand what constitutes completion.

The completion of a building, tool or monument implies an intended final form and perhaps function. It can also intrinsically require a need for maintenance and care. Establishing the intended *final form* of a monument is problematic. At a practical level, it requires a stratigraphic separation between the *intended* function of a site and any later phases of monument reuse. Moreover, it assumes there is a conjectural point in time when a monument will be both physically completed and cognitively *finished* in the minds of its architect. Identifying such a point archaeologically can be difficult, particularly as the longevity of separate phases may be unclear (e.g. Loveday 2002). Nevertheless, how monuments are considered after completion, and what role they continue to maintain in and for society, is critical. Furthermore, the *process* of creation or construction and the resulting *product*, such as a monument in its final form, can each be the starting point for interpretation. For sites displaying complex phases of material alterations and modifications, the notion of completion can be even more challenging to determine. At developed hillforts such as Maiden Castle, the successive phases of building do not necessarily mean that each phase had a point that was considered as complete, and the construction of an additional phase might be considered as the abandonment of the earlier blueprint for the site. Upon completion of a monument or structure, three possible hypotheses can be postulated in relation to subsequent use, particularly in relation to themes of maintenance or neglect. The first assumes that a monument was built in a single event, where the act of construction itself provided the intended primary function (cf. Pryor 1984). In such scenarios, the subsequent decay and/or naturalisation (e.g. grassing over) would not provide any significant problem because the intended usefulness of the site was finished. However, the second and third hypotheses respectively reflect the need to either maintain (continually renew) the appearance of a monument, such as removing unwanted vegetation from earthworks, or to leave it to naturalise.



The chalk-figure of the Uffington White Horse, on the Berkshire Downs in southern England, provides an example of maintaining a monument in later pre-history. The site consists of a stylised 110m-long, white chalk silhouette of a horse against the grass-covered hillside. The figure was constructed by removing the turf, digging a trench and then filling the trench with beaten chalk (Huntingford 1957, 108). This trench was dug down to the solid chalk across the whole of the figure including the interior (Piggott 1931b, 38). As with other chalk-figures, the visibility of the site is due to processes of maintenance that have prevented vegetation from re-colonising the site and rendering it invisible. This maintenance, or scouring, of the Uffington White Horse has featured in the poetry of Tennyson (*Geraint and Enid*, 1857) and Chesterton (*The Ballad of the White Horse*, 1911) (Schwyzer 1999). Of all of the chalk figures known, the Uffington White Horse is likely to be the oldest, although the precise dating of its original construction has been challenging. Whilst there are literary references to the area dating back to Anglo-Saxon charters from the middle of the ninth century AD (Hooke 1987), direct reference to the White Horse and White Horse Hill are not known until the eleventh century. In one document dating to either the late eleventh or twelfth century, the monument itself is mentioned, referring to it as a miraculous place, indicating that it was already an ancient landscape feature by that time (Cromarty *et al.* 2003, 16). Consequently, the date of the figure has been the subject of much debate and, by the twentieth century, speculation indicating a prehistoric date had increased. Focusing largely on stylistic grounds, an early suggestion of an Iron Age date was based on similarities with the depictions of horses on coins from that period (Huntingford 1920), although similar observations had been made since the eighteenth century (see Piggott 1950). Whilst Flinders Petrie suggested an even older date for the figure (Petrie 1926), this was dismissed by O.G.S. Crawford who supported an Iron Age date (Crawford 1929). Comparison with other Iron Age objects, including the Marlborough and Aylesford buckets, supported the conclusion that the White Horse dated to this period, reflecting an earlier assumption outlined by Rev. W.C. Plenderleath in *The White Horses of the West of England* (Piggott 1931b). Similar conclusions of an Iron Age or Celtic origin were subsequently drawn by other researchers (e.g. Grinsell 1939; Huntingford 1957; Marples 1981).

The site of the Uffington White Horse was re-investigated in the 1990s through a combination of geophysical survey and excavation (Miles *et al.* 2003a). This work revealed that the figure was initially formed by a trench cut into the chalk, with the construction of a puddled chalk surface within it replacing the bedrock figure shortly after initial construction. There was no indication that the shape and positioning of the feature had changed significantly, although its position on the slope has become more level compared with the slope of the bedrock. OSL dating of the colluvium associated with the original construction of the figure, by Julie Rees-Jones and Mike Tite, indicated that it was almost certainly built before 210 BC (with only a 2.5% chance of being later), with ranges of 1380 to 550 cal BC (68% confidence) and 1740 to 210 cal BC (95% confidence). Hence, the White Horse is a prehistoric monument, most likely to have been constructed during the



early Iron Age, perhaps contemporary with the adjacent Uffington hillfort (see Lock *et al.* 2003), although it is possible that it had late Bronze Age origins.

One of the challenges for understanding processes of maintenance and renewal is that the scouring of chalk figures inevitably removes the evidence of earlier activity. A dramatic example of this took place on the site in the early 1950s. Following camouflaging and covering of the site with vegetation in the 1940s to prevent its use in aiding enemy navigation during World War II, the site became overgrown. By 1948, it was claimed that it had not been scoured for sixty years and so restoration work was undertaken that included the replacement of the upper 0.3m of chalk across the site, in addition to carrying out a small excavation adjacent to the *beak* area of the monument (Miles *et al.* 2003a, 64–65). Despite this and the earlier episodes of scouring, the more recent excavations revealed at least seven or eight phases of re-surfacing, or maintenance.

In the twelfth century manuscript, *De Mirabilibus Birtanniae* (the wonders of Britain) in *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, Radulfi de Diceto noted that “over the whole place where that image of a horse is, no grass may grow. Grass never grows over the shape of the horse but always there the earth is bare to the full extent of the horse” (Cromarty *et al.* 2003, 16). However, in practice, without regular cleaning and maintenance, it is likely that the figure would have become overgrown and disappeared. Despite the clean chalk and lack of soil directly on the figure inhibiting the rapid growth of plants, vegetation communities would be expected to re-colonise the area (e.g. Fenner 1978). The rate and extent of such re-growth will depend on a number of factors including the availability of seed-bank material and edaphic conditions, with the porosity of the type of material used especially important for chalk contexts (Burnham 1990). A chalk figure cut into a slope near Inkpen Beacon in Berkshire in 1860 that was not maintained remained visible for over sixty years, but had completely disappeared by the late 1940s (Miles *et al.* 2003a, 76). Hence, without maintenance, the White Horse would have become lost, indicating that it was regularly and deliberately maintained for over 2500 years.

The earliest reference to the scouring of the site was by Thomas Baskerville who visited it in the 1670s, suggesting that maintenance was by legal obligation (Huntingford 1957, 105–106; Schwyzer 1999, 47). From the earliest authoritative account of scouring in 1755 to 1892 (the last time it was funded by the landlord), there were approximately fifteen episodes (Miles *et al.* 2003a, 61–62). Perhaps the most famous scouring event took place on 17 and 18 September 1857. In commemoration of this event, the local author Thomas Hughes, best known for *Tom Brown's schooldays*, wrote a semi-factual novel entitled *The Scouring of the White Horse* (Hughes 1859). Between 15,000 and 18,000 people took part in the event, which included the clearing of weeds and grass and the puddling of fresh chalk onto the figure, in addition to activities within the nearby hillfort (Miles *et al.* 2003b, 7). The scouring normally took place over two days every seven years at the expense of the landlord. It was achieved by stripping the discoloured and damaged surface of the figure, clearing the grass and weeds, trimming the edge and replacing turf where needed, adding more chalk, and packing it hard onto the surface (Huntingford 1957, 108; Miles *et al.* 2003a, 62).

The evidence from the Uffington White Horse indicates that some monuments were cleaned, maintained and renewed during later prehistory. Furthermore, the survival of the site suggests that these processes continued for over 2500 years, perhaps with only minor interruptions such as that during World War II. Whilst the creation of this monument would have had a dramatic visual impact on the landscape that surrounded it, its continued cleaning and maintenance demonstrates that such activities were possible and that they took place. In this context, the lack of maintenance of a monument may be considered as a deliberate choice, or one borne by shifting circumstances or priorities. In effect, where factors such as abandonment are not present, neglecting to maintain a monument can be seen as an active and intentional choice. Factors such as carelessness or neglect and passive responses to decay that could otherwise be prevented, provide challenges for traditional interpretations of intentional breakage and iconoclasm. The decision to not take action when aware of destruction or change, such as the re-vegetation of figures such as the Uffington White Horse, may be seen as acts of intentional destruction, although their categorisation differs from other forms of damage (see Rambelli and Reinders 2012, 176–177).

For some sites, maintenance is unlikely to have been an option. For example, the earlier site of Seahenge in Norfolk, dating to the very end of the third millennium BC, consisted of a circle of split wooden stakes around a central inverted stump and has been interpreted as a symbolic representation of death (Brennand and Taylor 2003). The stakes were *Quercus* (oak), which had been positioned so that their split (lighter coloured) sides were facing inwards and their darker bark was facing outwards. The presence of the bark on the exposed upper sections of these stakes would gradually have fallen from the timbers and it seems plausible that, within a relatively short period, the majority of this exposed outer bark would have decayed, and the appearance of the monument would have altered irreversibly. The original appearance of this monument following construction could not have been maintained. As such, the decaying timbers would have remained as a symbol of their earlier use; the decaying itself emphasising the shift in priorities, either as the site was no longer potent, or that the naturalising process of decay was necessary as part of this effect. Either way, the rotting timbers of the upper structure of Seahenge would have remained as a visible, material reminder of the events and priorities that had originally driven its construction.

The value of the example of Seahenge in the context lies in its unusual position of being a single-phased site built of non-durable materials. However, the recognition of such completion and subsequent active neglect is more challenging for sites that do not share these properties. Elsewhere, we have seen the abandonment of sites at varying stages of their completion, from the unfinished hillfort of Ladle Hill to the abandonment of hillforts across Wessex, as functions became more centralised within the developed hillforts. Whilst there is some evidence to suggest that, by the first century BC, many of the apparently abandoned sites were either re-occupied or continued in use for different functions, their architecture betrayed their earlier intended functions. Where this architecture was not maintained, its remnants endured as symbols of the earlier socio-economic order.

## Conclusions – breaking monuments

This chapter has considered a range of different types of monument from the later prehistoric period, including hillforts and urban centres, monumental structures, shrines and sacred natural places. It has considered the different ways in which material change has taken place, exploring themes of construction, modification and destruction, as well as abandonment and neglect. In some cases, as with the destruction of the oak groves near *Massilia* and on *Mona Insulis*, the literary record provides us with evidence to interpret that these acts of destruction were clearly iconoclastic within the strictest definitions. They were religious sites that perhaps had even included imagery, if Lucan is to be believed. They were also intentionally attacked to destroy the symbolism that these sites and images held. Not only do these examples demonstrate the potential for iconoclasm during the period, but they also highlight the extremely limited nature of the evidence for later prehistoric sacred sites.

For other sites, transformations occurred in more subtle ways. With shrines and temples, the complexities of their creation and modification echo potential patterns of control through material transformation. Whether focusing on the formalisation of natural sites, such as shrines located on rivers or near wetlands and springs, or on the apparent centralisation of religious practice through the siting of shrines within hillforts and developed urban spaces, social and political ideology was expressed through material transformation. The re-use of many shrine sites for later Romano-British temples marks a different type of transformation that can be seen as a level of continuity, although, depending on the intentions of the builders, might equally reflect processes of syncretism and re-appropriation of these sites as part of a shift in ideology.

The evolution of hillforts in terms of both their setting and the modifications to their earthworks also echoes this theme of material transformations being driven by, or reflecting, patterns in social and political control and ideology. As highly visible and tangible features within the cultural landscape, the imposition of these structures reinforced shifts in patterns of agriculture and potentially land ownership at a time when alternative expressions of power and wealth, such as the accumulation and distribution of exotic goods, reduced in significance. It is likely that such changes were imposed rather than determined by collective approval, as they resulted in a pattern of centralisation that was reflected by the subsequent empowerment of developed hillforts and the decline of lesser sites. Whether this process ultimately resulted in the development of the urban centres reflected by oppida remains a matter of debate. Regardless, the survival of the abandoned relict earthworks relating to the earlier patterns of social power and control provided a tangible reminder to populations of what had been lost, and it is likely that these would have been understood as having a variety of positive and negative connotations to later prehistoric populations.

The range of monuments discussed in this chapter extends from possible religious imagery through to symbols of power and control. Interpretations of meaning have not been confined to the monuments themselves, but have included the

landscapes that were transformed and redefined by the imposition of structures, such as through the creation of hillforts. In these cases, the act of breakage focused on the plurality of meanings that such landscapes will have presented. Material transformations relating to these monuments occurred at a variety of scales, from obliteration in the case of Roman attacks on groves, to more subtle acts of resignification through modification. In most cases, the intentionality behind these acts is open to debate, even where indications are provided by the surviving literature. However, in each case, the moments of transformation should be considered in relation to the plurality of meaning associated with the thing being transformed. Monuments, and the landscapes that they occupied, would have signified meaning beyond the purely economic and functional, and so these acts of physical alteration can be read in relation to the transformation of signs.

## **Note**

- 1 It is possible that Lucan's description of events in Massilia was stimulated or influenced by knowledge of the destruction of the groves on Anglesey described by Tacitus (Dyson 1970).

## 5 Breaking landscapes

Within the context of the obliteration of heritage by mining in Western Australia, it was suggested that the destruction of archaeological landscapes is comparable with that of religious imagery (González Zarandona 2015). Focusing on indigenous landscapes, this argument built upon notions of cultural genocide (Bevan 2006), whereby places associated with ethnic groups can be annihilated, erasing cultural memory with the broader context of ethnic cleansing (Falah 1996). It was also noted that such destruction may be intentional or collateral, but leads to a similar conclusion. From this, González Zarandona posited a theory of landscape iconoclasm that built on the ideas of Belting (2005), arguing that the destruction of cultural landscapes can be understood in the same way as the destruction of more traditional targets of iconoclasm such as religious buildings and imagery.

Whilst the ideas of iconoclasm have been applied to the destruction of other forms of heritage (e.g. Holtorf 2005), there has been little exploration of how this might be considered for the destruction of cultural landscapes in earlier periods (cf. Chapman and Gearey 2013a). Part of the challenge lies in the definition of landscape (cf. Olwig 1993; Gosden and Head 1994), which can include a multitude of different spatial resolutions. This is reflected in approaches to the study and the interpretation of archaeological landscapes that extend from different theoretical positions, which ask different questions and generate data relating to different timeframes. Experiential approaches, for example, necessitate consideration of specific moments in time and space, whilst palaeoenvironmental analyses might explore notions of environmental change and human activity over longer periods. Furthermore, other approaches to landscape archaeology, including cartographic analysis, remote sensing and survey, provide access to the hidden landscapes of the past that enrich the potential of interpretation. All approaches are of clear relevance to the exploration of landscape iconoclasm because it requires an understanding of the evolution of the cultural landscape in order to identify and interpret moments of transformation and the implications of these changes on past populations.

Landscapes are embedded with meaning, stemming from cultural memory constructed from histories of use, and personal memory resulting from lived experience (Meinig 1979; Cosgrove 1989). Meanings are plural, and experience of places are “unlikely to be equally shared and experienced by all” but “the understanding

and use of them can be controlled and exploited in systems of domination” (Tilley 1994, 26). Such exploitation can be exercised through the restriction of knowledge and experience, by controlling access or through the imposition of built structures within the landscape. It can also be enacted discursively, such as by defining certain places as either dangerous or taboo. Landscapes can be materially transformed in numerous ways, including woodland clearance and shifts in landuse, the construction of monuments or the defining and redefining of routeways. The effects of change can alter the way in which people are able to move through the landscape and can restrict access to particular places, but can also affect other senses. For example, views can be enhanced, interrupted or dominated by change, whilst the establishment of industrial activity might impact on sound and smell.

Landscapes can conflate notions of image and medium (see Belting 2005), and changes to them can be driven by human and natural agency. For iconoclasm, the agents of change need not always be human, and that perceived supernatural agency, or the idea of natural forces having agency, can be understood within the same framework (Rambelli and Reinders 2012, 177–178). Where metaphysical intervention is assumed, as has been interpreted in the past for some natural disasters (e.g. Chester *et al.* 2007), acts of change can be seen to have an author who has their own motivations for destruction. However, much natural change takes place at much slower rates, such as shifts in climate, which are much harder to equate with notions of iconoclasm.

Within the context of iconoclasm, this chapter explores different types of prehistoric landscape change in relation to human agency and natural landscape change. The first part explores human agency in landscape transformation, investigating themes of woodland clearance, landscape division, enclosure, movement and the impact of industrial activity. Discussions of such examples of change frequently conceal the iterative processes of transformation and, furthermore, how changes to the landscape can be read as a destruction of the pre-existing environment. The second section explores landscape change from the perspective of natural agency, with a particular focus on climatic change during the first millennium BC, and it is argued that natural environmental change can be understood within the framework of metaphysical agency and intentionality drawn from the iconoclasm literature. There can be considerable latency between driving events, such as climate change, and their subsequent, more recognisable environmental changes, and that any interpretation of perceived metaphysical agency can only be appropriate when it can be demonstrated that such changes were sufficiently rapid to have been recognised.

## Cultural landscape change

The transformation of the landscape through cultural activity can take many forms. The previous chapter considered changes in relation to monuments, including hillforts and temples as specific points within landscapes, but other activities can have a more extensive impact on the landscape. The clearance of woodland physically alters the appearance of an area and changes movement through it,

as well as creating a shift in its economic potential. Such changes in landuse might be received with varying degrees of enthusiasm, sometimes privileging the intentions of the few, and sometimes the many. New land boundaries, sometimes manifested through the building of physical structures, might reflect changes in ownership, inheritance or control, echoing themes of inclusion and exclusion. Equally, the creation of routeways through the landscape can reflect themes of access, but also a preferred way of both crossing and encountering the landscape. For later prehistory, the majority of the evidence for cultural landscape change comprises its physical remnants alongside the proxy data and interpretation from palaeoenvironmental analyses. In terms of cultural landscape change, this section explores the evidence for, and potential impacts from, woodland clearance and changes in landuse, division of the landscape, enclosure, movement through the landscape and later prehistoric industrial activity.

### **Tree clearance and environmental change**

One of the most dramatic alterations of the landscape during prehistory was the removal of woodland, which would have resulted in the opening up of environments and the creation of vistas across wider areas that would have previously been unusual (cf. Bell 1996). Whilst indirect indications of woodland clearance are provided by the artefactual record and from the direct evidence of farming, the principal method for identifying it is through the analysis of pollen preserved within appropriate deposits. Palynological studies include the analysis of long sequences that reveal shifting patterns in vegetation through time and localised deposits that might represent shorter timescales. In conjunction with radiometric analyses, changes in past environments identified through palynological analyses can be dated, providing the potential for comparison with other evidence of human activity. When considering events such as woodland clearance, it is clearly necessary to understand both the dating of specific events and the rapidity of change if we are to interpret the potential impact that such landscape-scale transformations may have had on individuals within generational timescales.

In south-west England, the timing of the clearance of woodland is variable (see Straker *et al.* [2008] for a summary). Many areas were already cleared by the middle Bronze Age, including the Wessex chalklands, parts of the Lizard peninsula and the uplands of Bodmin Moor (see Gearey *et al.* 2000a), replacing an earlier environment that was probably densely covered by hazel and oak woodland (Gearey *et al.* 2000b; cf. Chapman and Gearey 2000). Clearance occurred slightly later, in the late Bronze Age, in the area of the upper Thames valley, although parts of the Clyst valley in Devon and the Isles of Scilly were not cleared until the late Bronze Age/early Iron Age transition. Parts of central and north Devon remained wooded into the early Iron Age, with later, middle to late Iron Age dates for the southern fringe of Exmoor. Within the Levels, some areas remained wooded into the early Iron Age.

Within East Anglia, evidence of woodland clearance has been identified from a number of different sites from across Norfolk and Suffolk. At Hockham Mere



in Breckland, Norfolk, a major clearance event was identified dating to the end of the Bronze Age, at approximately 920 to 780 cal BC (Bennett 1983) and a similar, later Bronze Age date was identified for a significant clearance event at the site of Mickle Mere near Ixworth (Gearey *et al.* 2016, 27–36). At Diss Mere, Norfolk, palynological analyses revealed a marked decrease in tree pollen during the Iron Age with a concurrent expansion of herbs indicative of pastoral agriculture (Peglar *et al.* 1989) and this is matched by evidence from Stowmarket, in the Gipping valley in Suffolk where woodland clearance occurred after approximately 220 cal BC (Gearey *et al.* 2016, 75). Whilst there were challenges in dating the palaeoenvironmental sequence at the late Iron Age timber alignment site of Beccles, on the southern edge of the river Waveney, peat deposits associated with a prehistoric structure dating to the first half of the first century BC provided evidence for a reduction in trees and shrubs compared with earlier deposits. This was associated with rises in indicators of open grassland, indicating that the Iron Age saw intensified woodland clearance and probably pastoral activity in the lower Waveney valley (Gearey *et al.* 2016, 191).

A study of small catchment pollen sites from within the East Midlands, between the rivers Trent and Nene, revealed patterns associated with woodland clearance during from the Neolithic period through to the Iron Age (Brown 1999). Here, whilst small-scale, temporary clearances were evident within floodplain areas during the Neolithic period, widespread clearance did not take place until the Bronze Age, where it appears to be associated with the construction of monuments, following which there was evidence for some woodland regeneration. However, dramatic deforestation did not take place until the middle and late Iron Age at which time the lowlands became almost totally deforested, with occasional isolated woodland fragments in an otherwise open agricultural environment.

A comprehensive study of the archaeology and palaeoenvironmental deposits across eastern England was undertaken within the English Heritage funded Humber Wetlands Survey (see Van de Noort [2004] for a summary). The general picture that has emerged from this research is that, from approximately 800 cal BC, there was a marked decline in lime (indicative of widespread clearing of the woodland landscape) and, by the Roman period, much of the region was cleared of woodland. At the end of the Roman period, woodland appears to have regenerated across much of this area. Within the Humberhead levels (see Van de Noort and Ellis 1997) and Holderness (see Van de Noort and Ellis 1995), a number of palynological studies have identified widespread and abrupt woodland clearance at the start of the Iron Age with significant increases in *Plantago lanceolata* (ribwort plantain), indicative of pastoral farming, concurrent with pronounced declines in trees and shrubs (e.g. Tweddle 2001; Smith 2002; Schofield and Bunting 2005). Similar Iron Age clearance was noted in a sequence taken from deposits within a relict river channel at the Iron Age marsh-fort site of Sutton Common, indicating “a large-scale and apparently abrupt clearance of trees by human communities” (Gearey 2007, 64; see below).

Further north, beyond the Scottish borders, it seems likely that significant tree clearance took place during the Iron Age, as revealed by a study of three sites

within the area of the Antonine Wall (Dumayne 1993; Dumayne-Peaty 1998). At Letham Moss in Stirlingshire and at Blairbech Bog in Dumbartonshire, substantial woodland clearance was observed during the Iron Age. In the early Iron Age, these landscapes were characterised by small woodland clearances but, after *c.* 200 cal BC, there was substantial clearance. At the third site, Fannyside Muir in Cumbernauld, the most significant clearance took place during the Roman period. Prior to clearance, these landscapes were characterised as predominantly wooded with small, short-lived clearances associated with grazing during the Bronze Age and early Iron Age, reflecting similar patterns observed across the wider region including southern, central and north-east Scotland, as well as Northumbria and northern Cumbria. During the late Iron Age, woodland clearance was both extensive and substantial, leading to pastoral and arable agriculture prior to the Roman conquest. Significant episodes of woodland clearance during the Iron Age have also been noted within western-central Scotland (Ramsay 1995) and the area to the south of the Antonine Wall (e.g. Tipping 1994). However, survival of woodland into later periods has been identified from a number of sites in the region (e.g. Whittington and Edwards 1993).

The evidence from palynological work across different areas of Britain has shown regional variations, with major phases of woodland clearance occurring between the middle Bronze Age and middle Iron Age. At the coarsest resolution, we can see early clearances within areas of the south-west of England, but with significant and dramatic clearance events during the Iron Age in areas of Yorkshire, East Anglia and the Scottish borders. Whilst the overall pattern is variable, specific sites demonstrate significant events of rapid woodland clearance, perhaps within a single generation, and presumably from direct human intervention.

When considered more broadly, anthropogenic influence is one factor influencing woodland clearance amongst several others. From a palynological perspective, the opening up of primary woodland is commonly identified by a decline in *Tilia* (lime) pollen because, once this is significantly removed from a landscape, it rarely re-establishes itself significantly. There has been much debate about the reduction in *Tilia* across large areas of Britain and Europe. Initially, prior to the advent of radiocarbon dating, this decline was attributed to the climatic downturn around the start of the first millennium BC (e.g. Godwin 1956; see below). This interpretation was subsequently challenged using radiocarbon dating that indicated a lack of synchronicity between different sites, leading to an interpretation of human intervention (Turner 1962). The timing of the *Tilia* decline broadly coincides with the development of iron over bronze technologies and it has been suggested that this provided more effective tools for cutting down trees. However, more recent research showing that other tree species expanded, such as *Fagus* (beech) in southern England, indicating that technological change was probably a minor factor in this process (Van de Noort 2004, 32).

The mapping of the *Tilia* decline across Europe led to the conclusion that *Tilia* retreated from its northern limits southwards after around 3700 cal BC, interpreted as being the result of climatic deterioration (Huntley and Birks 1983). It also showed that by *c.* 1200 cal BC, *Tilia* was in decline across the whole of Europe and

it was suggested that this major decline was the result of clearance by human populations. A more recent study of the *Tilia* decline across lowland Britain (Grant *et al.* 2011) has indicated a more complex process of decline and highlighted a series of early events (before *c.* 2500 cal BC) within areas of calcareous soils, with clearance activity shifting to areas of loamy soils and floodplain areas between *c.* 2500 and 1000 cal BC. The research showed a reduction in the frequency of declines in *Tilia* in the first half of the first millennium BC (late Bronze Age/early Iron Age), suggesting that this might have been an indirect result of climatic deterioration. The recent modelling of multiple taxa across Britain has indicated that the openness of woodland during the early Holocene in Britain was probably considerably greater than previously thought, and almost certainly greater than in continental Europe (Fyfe *et al.* 2013). However, it was also noted that there might be a number of biases in the data, stemming from the focus on wetland and upland sampling locations.

The complexity of understanding woodland clearance, and the clear advances in this area in recent years, demonstrates the challenges of generalising patterns across large regions. The assessment of 164 sequences showing evidence of declines in *Tilia* from across lowland Britain revealed that perhaps 44 per cent could be attributed to factors other than direct anthropogenic activity (Grant *et al.* 2011, 406). However, the wider pattern does indicate a high level of woodland clearance between the middle Bronze Age and the late Iron Age, which, in some cases, was quite selective. At an individual landscape scale, the impacts of this clearance by and on human populations were frequently dramatic, but one of the key challenges when relating environmental events to human activity is determining the precise timing of specific changes. The modelling of environmental change in relation to the Iron Age marsh-fort of Sutton Common (Gearey *et al.* 2009) provides the uncommon possibility of examining such relationships in more detail. Here, radiocarbon dating of a pollen core was augmented through Bayesian statistical modelling to provide intermediary dates (*i.e.* those not directly dated using radiocarbon) for events identified in the palynological record. The results from the palynological work indicated human activity in the form of falls in *Quercus* (oak) and *Corylus* (hazel) and the expansion of Poaceae (grasses) and Cyperaceae (sedges), indicating a clearance of the *Quercus-Corylus* woodland and the expansion of open grassy areas and possible ruderal habitats, with some evidence of cereal cultivation in the landscape. The timing of this event was estimated by the modelling at 1810 to 1630 cal BC (95% probability) and probably 1760 to 1670 cal BC (68% probability), relating to the early Bronze Age. This clearance event was however relatively short-lived, as the pollen record showed subsequent increases in *Betula* (birch) and concurrent reductions in Poaceae and Cyperaceae, indicating a more closed environment. This second event was estimated at 1570 to 1250 cal BC (95% probability) and probably 1510 to 1340 cal BC (68% probability). An additional increase in woodland regeneration was highlighted by recoveries in *Tilia*, *Quercus* and *Corylus* at 1220 to 800 cal BC (95% probability) and probably 1130 to 900 cal BC (68% probability). A subsequent phase of low-level agricultural activity was observed from a decline

in woodland cover, including reductions in *Tilia*, *Pinus* (pine) and *Corylus*, which corresponded with a rise in Poaceae and Cyperaceae and subdued increases in *Plantago lanceolata* and cereal pollen. The timing of the start of this event was estimated at 1160 to 640 cal BC (95% probability) and probably 1040 to 750 cal BC (68% probability). By 750 to 410 cal BC (95% probability) and probably 700 to 410 cal BC (68% probability) *Tilia* had declined to very low levels, indicating a predominantly open landscape. The subsequent phase was characterised by a continued reduction in *Corylus* and a rise in Cyperaceae, along with fluctuations in *Pinus*, indicating a further expansion of open habitats and an intensification of human activity at 640 to 270 cal BC (95% probability) and probably 540 to 330 cal BC (68% probability).

In relation to archaeological deposits, the Bayesian modelling indicated that the initial, early Bronze Age phase of localised clearance was not associated with a cremation burial (dated to 1885 to 1690 cal BC) within a mortuary enclosure at the site, but occurred at a later date, indicating that the mortuary enclosure was within dense woodland at the time of use. The more comprehensive phase of woodland clearance, which, commencing at around 1040 to 750 cal BC (68% probability), was completed by 700 to 410 cal BC (68% probability). This clearance pre-dated the initial construction of the marsh-fort of Sutton Common, which was dendrochronologically dated to 372 BC (Nayling 2007). The lack of fluctuation in *Quercus* also indicated that the c. 6000 trees required for the construction of the marsh-fort (Van de Noort *et al.* 2007, 175) were presumably sourced from beyond the pollen catchment.

At Sutton Common, it is evident that the principal phase of woodland clearance took place prior to the construction of the marsh-fort and was not directly associated with this event. The estimated dates for the initiation and completion of woodland clearance at the site indicate that it is likely that the process took place over more than one lifetime, and probably over a series of generations. In terms of an individual's perception of the landscape (e.g. Chapman 2000, 2006, plate 17; Gearey and Chapman 2006), a key question lies in what the impact of woodland clearance would have been upon individuals within contemporaneous communities. However, even with the resolution of data generated for Sutton Common, the pollen evidence is likely to generalise these processes and hence mask the evidence for impact. Given the quantity of woodland that such clearance represents, the removal of trees and shrubs would have transformed the landscape, and this would have been highly visible to groups and individuals, regardless of the extent of clearance in a single season. It is likely that main phase of clearance at Sutton Common took place at least one generation prior to the construction of the fort but, as at numerous sites across Britain and continental Europe, clearance would have resulted in a transformed landscape, both locally or regionally, opening up vistas and irreversibly altering the world within which they lived and worked, at least in the short to medium term. The significance of the woodland is not known (cf. Skoglund 2012), but its removal not only marked a visual transformation but also a shift in the economic potential of the landscape. Whether such acts were undertaken as collectively endorsed endeavours or coerced by those with

the power to direct the work is also unknown, although it is tantalising to consider this within the context of landscape changes within hillfort dominated areas where sites such as Quarley Hill in Hampshire were apparently imposed upon the pre-existing linear boundaries (Cunliffe 1990; see Chapter 4).

The way in which woodland clearance was achieved also has implications for how it might have been understood and perceived by communities at the time. Whilst scrub can often be removed effectively, established trees can be more problematic. If they were felled using axes (cf. Coles 1973), they would have left stumps that would have either persisted prior to natural decay or they would have needed to be removed, which can be exceedingly difficult. If they were not removed, then the stumps would have left a tangible symbol and reminder of the woodland that had been lost. An alternative, suggested following the work at Seahenge in Norfolk (Brennand and Taylor 2003), is that established trees could have been felled by digging out the roots and then levering them over using ropes tied to their upper branches. Even if this was the case, the process between clearance and established farmland is unlikely to have been rapid. Whichever method was used for the clearance of woodland, it would have resulted in an iterative sequence of transformations, with the evidence from one providing the visible context for the next.

## Dividing the landscape

A strong characteristic of the landscape archaeology from the early second millennium onwards is the creation of physical boundaries within the landscape of Europe (Bewley 1994, 69–71). By c. 1500 BC, varying patterns of field systems are prevalent, particularly across southern Britain, in areas including Dartmoor (Fleming 1988), Bodmin Moor (Johnson and Rose 1994) and Wessex and the Marlborough Downs (Gingell 1992; McOmish 2005), although, in some areas, earlier co-axial fields have been recorded, such as within the Fengate landscape on the western dryland adjacent to Flag Fen (Pryor 1992). Similar patterns emerged in other areas of southern England, although at a slightly later date (Cunliffe 1995, 27). Within the uplands of Devon, the survival of extensive networks of co-axial boundaries dating to the middle of the second millennium BC has led to intense research relating to their form, function and date (e.g. Fleming 1978, 1983, 1987, 1988, 1994). These *reaves* largely consist of linear stone and earth banks that extend across thousands of hectares of the landscape. It was suggested that these features were developed over a short time span as a planned event, formalising pre-existing territories (Fleming 1994), although the precise understanding of the chronological development of the landscape has been problematic, as has been the interpretation of their function or functions. More recent palaeoenvironmental work within north-eastern Dartmoor has provided additional data, which begins to elucidate events during the period of landscape division (Fyfe *et al.* 2008). This study has shown how, at around 3630 to 3370 cal BC, heathland was already established by Neolithic communities. The re-establishment of hazel scrub during the early Bronze Age was interpreted as reflecting a reduced use of the landscape, at

least within this region. However, from around 1480 cal BC, there was a substantial shift to grassland with evidence of grazing, until perhaps c. 1100 cal BC, after which the intensity of landscape use appears to have reduced significantly.

Whilst at a general scale, the Dartmoor reaves appear to be regularly laid out but, when viewed up close, this regularity is less consistent with localised variations. A re-examination of the reaves has started to address this problem and has increased our understanding of their relationship to the earlier landscape (Johnston 2005). Highlighting the results from excavations on Shaugh Moor in south-west Dartmoor (Smith *et al.* 1981), Johnston's analysis of the remains at Shovel Down and Kestor in north-east Dartmoor indicates that boundaries were built within pre-existing networks marked by the integration of and respect of other monuments and buildings, and linked by natural features including tors, water courses and valleys. The coaxial boundaries were seen as respecting both the topographic form of the landscape and the pre-existing monuments. In other words, the apparently regular pattern of the Dartmoor reaves was never conceived as a single plan, but concealed a richer development of the landscape over longer time periods.

Within northern England, similar challenges regarding the date and phasing have been encountered with prehistoric field systems. Across areas of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, extensive later prehistoric field systems have been identified primarily from crop mark remains (e.g. Riley 1973, 1976, 1980; Jones 1988; Chapman 1997, 1998, 1999; Stoertz 1997; Winton 1998), although a lack of morphological diagnostics, a poor regional survival of prehistoric pottery and frequent continuity of use extending into the Roman period have restricted understanding of chronologies. This is demonstrated by excavations of sections of field systems within Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, which have revealed low quantities of prehistoric material compared with Roman material culture (e.g. Magilton 1978; Samuels and May 1980; Atkinson 1994; Chadwick and Cumberpatch 1995). Evidence for later Iron Age activity was identified from the site of Pickburn Leys, near Doncaster (Cumberpatch 1993), but otherwise, prehistoric material has remained rare. However, more recent developer-funded excavation is beginning to show that this dearth of prehistoric material belies the Iron Age construction for many of these field systems. For the most regular, brickwork pattern fields within this region, it has been suggested on the basis of their size (see Riley 1980, 26) that they are most likely to represent past pastoral economies (Branigan 1989, 166). However, subsequent interpretations have challenged purely economic explanations, favouring social functions, the role of boundaries, the control of access and systems of renewal (e.g. Chadwick and Cumberpatch 1995; Chadwick 1997; Robbins 1998). At the site of Edenthorpe (Figure 5.1), near Doncaster, excavations revealed at least four phases of activity despite subsequent phases cleaning and thus potentially removing evidence for earlier activity. In addition to identifying the re-cutting and maintenance of ditches, this work also revealed evidence for the re-direction of the ditches (Chadwick and Cumberpatch 1995). The large sizes of the ditches were considered excessive for any practical function such as livestock control or drainage and hence it was seen that their construction was not in the interests of increased efficiency. Rather, the





*Figure 5.1* The later prehistoric fields surrounding the village of Edenthorpe near Doncaster in South Yorkshire. Excavations here have identified at least four phases of re-cutting and re-aligning boundaries. Based on Riley (1980).

phases of modification were interpreted as echoing shifting patterns of ownership and prestige, with the re-direction of ditches reflecting shifting control of access. Furthermore, it was suggested that the field systems were added as a subsequent feature of the landscape following the initial division of the landscape through the construction of longer double-ditched droveways, which perhaps served as land boundaries.

The idea of field boundaries building upon earlier boundary features extends the apparent chronological complexity of sites such as the Dartmoor reaves, which appear to have formalised earlier patterns of land division based on natural features and topography. The relationships between material landscape divisions and the natural and earlier cultural landscape have been explored elsewhere. The analysis of late Bronze and early Iron Age linear boundaries on the chalk in southern England in relation to natural landscape features and the positions of earlier Bronze Age barrows has indicated that the positioning of both types of monument referenced the natural landscape as both markers and as metaphors (Tilley 2004). It was argued that the positioning of round barrows was influenced by the importance of specific locales in addition to contributing to a network represented by other barrows and monuments within the landscape. Rather than being just



specific monuments, the relationships between them provided a wider pattern of identity across the landscape. The construction of cross-ridge dykes was seen as an alternative way of thinking about the landscape, providing physical interconnections between such earlier nodes. In addition to referencing the earlier Bronze Age landscape, the construction of dykes was a physical manifestation and formalisation of previously shifting patterns of landscape parcelling marked by the barrows. In contrast to the earlier landscape, it was argued that the construction of dykes reflected “an increased need to physically control and lay claim to the land itself and the material and symbolic resources that it provided” (Tilley 2014, 198). Dykes were seen as being imposed on the landscape, although seen as physically networking different landscape elements together rather than providing boundaries across it.

Variously named dykes, entrenchments and ranch boundaries, the forms of these expansive linear features vary considerably. Where earthworks remain, they frequently comprise a bank with parallel ditches, although there are numerous examples, such as on the Yorkshire Wolds (Stoertz 1997) where multiple parallel banks survive, and where some dykes run parallel to pit-alignments. Whether these features represent physical boundaries within the landscape or routeways through it remains debatable and it is likely that their functions differed for specific examples, perhaps changing through time, and that a dual function may have persisted. The presence of pit-alignments in other regions might have offered similar functions of dividing the landscape, albeit through a different form. In the area of Catholme and Whitemoor Haye in Staffordshire, a complex pattern of both single and double pit-alignments was revealed, many aligned perpendicular to the rivers indicating a division of the landscape responding to natural features (Buteux and Chapman 2009, 102–110; Figure 5.2). In some cases, boundaries defined by pits were re-used and re-formalised by the digging of ditches and the construction of banks, in one instance revealing a continuity of the boundary through to the Saxon period. Although the examples from Catholme and Whitemoor Haye were not accurately dated, elsewhere, similar features have been dated to the early to mid-first millennium BC (e.g. Pollard *et al.* 1996).

Whilst it seems that the extensive systems of dykes, pit-alignments and the frequently regular patterns of prehistoric field systems reflected earlier patterns of use within the landscape, their imposition as physical structures mark a significant conceptual change as a material formalisation of these earlier processes. There is a clear difference between the placing of nodes in the landscape through the construction of single monuments, even where they reference one another, and the imposition of banks and ditches across tracts of the landscape. Where patterns of re-cutting and re-directing ditches are evidenced, this would seem to reflect the contested nature of such boundaries once established. The apparently planned nature of these landscape features conceals their chronological development and the likely contested nature of control and ownership of the landscape as expressed by these features. Within this context, there has been much debate regarding the drivers that influenced the initial creation or formalisation of field systems during the later Bronze Age. The prevailing lines of interpretation are based on a

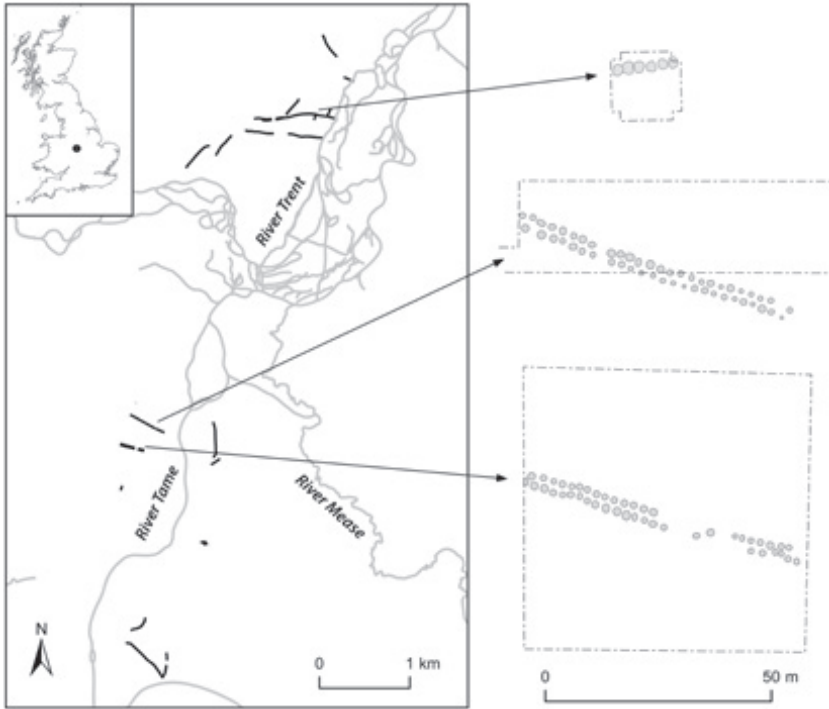


Figure 5.2 The distribution of pit-alignments in the area of Catholme and Whitemoor Haye, at the confluence of the Rivers Trent, Tame and Mease in Staffordshire, revealed by crop marks and excavation.

perceived need for greater intensification of agricultural production (e.g. Bradley 1984), as part of a wider trend moving from a ritual authority structure to one based on the circulation of prestige goods (e.g. Garwood 1991). Within a fluid and competitive social system with status associated with control over alliances through gift-giving and marriage, the need to generate surplus in order to satisfy the inevitable demand in prestige goods essentially led to the formalisation of fields. Hence, the expansion of agriculture to more marginal areas became necessary (see also Barrett 1994).

A critique of these types of interpretation has been provided following the analysis of sites in southern England (Brück 2000), challenging the notions of agricultural intensification and economic maximisation. Rather than being driven by changes in economic priorities, it was argued that shifts arising in the creation of fields and more archaeologically visible settlement forms were driven by social change as society fragmented. In contrast with the ostentatious monuments of the earlier Bronze Age, which served to draw larger groups together at ceremonies, the focus for social activities was within the domestic sphere, as is implied by the apparent increase in evidence for votive deposition at these sites (e.g. Barrett and

Needham 1988). Despite the monumental forms of some settlements, it appears that at least some sites persisted for just a single generation (cf. Brück 1999b), implying that the inheritance of land ownership was not a key factor in ways that one might expect if land division was driven by purely economic concerns. Rather, the division of space within settlements, and across the landscape more generally, actually restricted and defined social behaviours (Brück 2000), with the segmentation of space through the establishment of boundaries serving to mediate social relationships. Furthermore, the repeated pattern of forms, from field shapes to house orientations, indicates some level of desired control over how daily life and social relationships were maintained, perhaps also reflected by continued patterns of exchange and deposition of exotic objects such as bronze metalwork. Hence, it seems that for the mid-second millennium BC, the formalisation of space through the creation of settlements and field systems reflected a contested relationship between an increasingly fragmented society and a desire to maintain control.

For the first millennium BC, interpretations for the construction of dykes, ranch boundaries and field systems indicate a change in priorities compared with earlier sites. For these later examples, it has been suggested that patterns in boundaries within the landscape reflect shifts in economics, ownership and power (e.g. Cunliffe 1990). In the first half of the first millennium BC, the imposition of enclosures across earlier boundaries, some ultimately becoming hillforts around the middle of the first millennium BC, reflected a shift from communal ownership to individual ownership. It was argued that the extensive nature of many of the range boundaries implied that they were unlikely to be associated with private possession. Cunliffe noted that classical sources provide some indication of ideas of ownership within northern Europe:

No land ... is the property of private individuals, and no one is allowed to cultivate the same plot for more than one year.

(Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, IV.1; trans. Handford 1982, 88)

No one possesses any definite amount of land as private property; the magistrates and tribal chiefs annually assign a holding to clans and groups of kinsmen or others living together, fixing its size and position at their discretion, and the following year make them move on somewhere else.

(Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, VI.22; trans. Handford 1982, 143–144)

Furthermore, Caesar provides an indication of why such a pattern of land ownership persisted:

They give many reasons for this custom: for example, that their men may not get accustomed to living in one place, lose their warlike enthusiasm and take up agriculture instead; that they may not be anxious to acquire large estates, and the strong be tempted to dispossess the weak; to prevent their paying too

much attention to building houses that will protect them from cold and heat, or become too fond of money – a frequent cause of division and strife; and to keep the common people contented and quiet by letting every man see that even the most powerful are no better off than himself.

(Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, VI.22; trans. Handford 1982, 144)

In contrast, writing a century later about broadly the same region, Tacitus presents a very different picture of land ownership:

They divide [land] among themselves according to rank.

(Tacitus, *Germania*, XVI; trans. Mattingley 1970, 123)

Whilst such evidence must be regarded with caution, these sources indicate a shift in allocations of ownership over a period of a century in northern Europe, whilst the archaeological evidence implies a similar shift between the second and first millennium BC. The change from a lack of permanent settlement at the start of the first millennium BC to more densely populated landscapes four centuries later might indicate a population increase or an intensification of agricultural production. The construction of the earlier boundaries indicates a large-scale communal effort that might have been organised or coerced by a central authority, but the later imposition of enclosures at key points within boundary networks mark deliberate acts aimed at establishing control of the land. The contemporaneity of this shift in landscape archaeology with the reduction in the circulation of prestige metalwork was therefore seen as a shift in socio-economic priorities from objects to land (Cunliffe 1990).

The complex picture of cultural landscape change during later prehistory is marked by a number of significant changes, although with considerable regional variations. At a generalised level, the first major shift occurred in the middle of the second millennium BC (although earlier in some regions such as the Fens) with the establishment of boundaries across certain landscapes, coupled with the bounding of settlement. Many of these boundaries appear to have formalised pre-existing patterns of landscape division, either marked by natural features such as rivers and topographic features, or earlier monuments and markers in the landscape such as barrows. However, whilst such divisions might have existed prior to the construction of the ditches, banks or pit-alignments, which characterised this new phase of landscape compartmentalisation, these had been more conceptual and fluid. Unlike the earlier boundaries, the new ones were fixed as physical lines across the landscape rather than being inferred from nodes within it. Where earlier boundaries might have been fluid, these provided a sense of permanence. They might have formalised the earlier principles of landscape division, but now they were fixed. Furthermore, the labour required to build these boundaries would have been considerable, implying a degree of central control and perhaps coercion. Within a broader context of a more fragmented social order, this might imply that such developments reflected a level of contestation and, within the context of a more fragmented society, the similarities in physical expression in terms of fields,

settlements and houses might reflect some level of social authority. Whether the new structures existed as barriers or routeways, or both, the construction of physical boundaries provided a very different type of linear marker within the landscape, transforming it significantly compared with what had existed before. It was against this backdrop that subsequent transformations took place.

The contested nature of the second half of the second millennium BC, between a more fragmented social order and some level of social hierarchy expressed, for example, through continued movement and deposition of prestige metalwork, appears to have come to an end by the early first millennium BC. A perhaps less centralised social order in the centuries at the start of the first millennium BC with shared access to land was transformed. This second transformation was marked by the imposition of new enclosures over the earlier dyke systems, although it might be too simplistic to think of this as a direct shift from an open access to shared agricultural land to one of private ownership by powerful elites. However, the imposition of enclosures across key areas of dyke systems does indicate a level of control; a pattern that was to continue through to the Roman conquest. Whilst chronological and regional variations apply, significant and irreversible alterations to the landscape occurred during the middle Bronze Age and the early Iron Age. The relationship between social change and its physical manifestation is complex. Authority and power might have been necessary in order to coordinate the effort required in the construction of these features but, equally, the resulting boundaries would have provided a physical manifestation of control and legitimised this power.

### **Enclosing the landscape**

The majority of the examples of field systems and linear boundaries discussed above were in association with other landscape features including enclosures. In practice, the distinction of enclosure from fields is relatively fluid. It has been noted that the act of enclosure through the construction of walls, hedges or fences, or through the digging of ditches, alters an area by defining an inside and an outside of the enclosed space (cf. Harding *et al.* 2006a; see Chapter 4). In addition to categorisation based on the spatial scale of different later prehistoric enclosures, it has been noted that the purposes of enclosure can include defence, delimiting activity areas, bounding different communities, display, status and symbolism (Collis 1996), as well as being characterised by both natural features and anthropogenic constructions.

Although the precise purposes and functions of enclosure might vary, the practice transformed locales into defined social spaces that were markedly separate from the surrounding environment. In addition to enclosing an area, the physical structure that defines the enclosure provides a liminal zone that is neither inside nor outside (Chapman and Gaydarska 2006, 20). The origins of constructed enclosures extend back into the early Neolithic within Europe, although the practice only became widespread during the Bronze Age, from which it ultimately developed into the construction of hillforts (Harding 2006b). Whilst earlier Bronze

Age settlements are not readily identifiable, from around 1100 BC, domestic sites became increasingly focused on specific locations (Brück 1999c; Brück and Goodman 1999). From the middle Bronze Age onwards, there appears to have been a greater sense of enclosure (e.g. Hill 1995a, 104) and, by the later Bronze Age, enclosed settlements became more common, including relatively insubstantial fences surrounding clusters of houses (Bewley 1994, 77–79). However, the pattern of enclosure is not universal, with both enclosed and unenclosed settlements persisting throughout the later Bronze Age and Iron Age.

Whilst enclosure was a significant feature in the development of sites such as hillforts (see Chapter 4), enclosed settlements and other types of enclosure are characteristic of the first millennium BC, although it is clear that not all settlement in this period was enclosed and patterns differ regionally. For example, in eastern England, enclosed settlement was not common until the second half of the millennium (Champion 1994, 131–132). At a general scale, however, the transition from open settlements to enclosed settlements represents a major transition in the ways in which space was regarded and socially constructed. Numerous factors have been identified as responsible for influencing the apparent rise in enclosure during the first millennium BC. One of these is the concurrent rise in the intensification of agriculture at this time, and particularly in relation to arable agriculture that extended to heavier soils and saw the introduction of iron-tipped ard-shares (Jones 1981; Robinson 1984). Within the context of a broader social shift from wide networks of exchange to a focus on the productivity of the land and land ownership (e.g. Thomas 1989; Cunliffe 1990), such factors make some sense, although do not necessarily reflect the scale of the ditches and other features that formed the enclosures. Other drivers, which make more sense of the scale of boundaries, include the interpreted need for defence, or to constrain livestock and keep wild animals out. However, it has also been argued that enclosures served a much more symbolic function whilst being associated with more practical needs. Discoveries of likely votive deposits associated with some enclosure ditches (e.g. Hill 1995a, 76–83) and the scale and elaboration of some boundaries indicate that the act of enclosure might have served ritual functions as well as marking social boundaries (inside and outside) and highlighting status (e.g. Bowden and McOmish 1987; Hingley 1990b; Hill 1995a).

An examination of these themes in relation to ethnographic evidence (Thomas 1997) led to the conclusion that the rise in enclosure was probably linked most strongly to changing kinship relationships that placed a greater emphasis on social distinctions of insider or outsider. It was argued that these relationships were formalised materially through the creation of enclosures. Within the context of agricultural intensification during the first millennium BC, it was argued that notions of invested time were linked with a growing sense of property and ownership of specific pieces of land. With the presumption that aspects of property were linked with notions of inheritance, it might be reasonable to consider the physical structures of enclosure as an equivalent of a legal document marked upon the landscape. Hence, it is possible to consider enclosure boundaries as a symbol of legitimate access or exclusion from particular spaces, with enclosure seen as being linked with ideas of identity and exclusion.

The rise in enclosure and enclosed settlement during the first millennium BC echoed a shift in the social and economic priorities at the time. Following the fragmentation of society during the second millennium and an apparent change in ceremonial and symbolic functions (see Brück 2000), the succeeding period was marked by increased agricultural production and the amplified conceptualisation of land, as opposed to objects, as property. Apparent associations with kinship groups and the likelihood of inherited wealth through land were reflected by the construction of boundaries as both physical barriers and conceptual divisions between social groups. In this respect, acts of enclosure transformed particular areas of the landscape, perhaps in part formalising earlier arrangements, but enforcing new ways of engaging with and through the landscape. Enclosure boundaries defined insides and outsides, which implied certain models of social behaviour in terms of who was welcome and who might be excluded. The creation of these physical boundaries within the landscape therefore implicitly determined modes of behaviour that were underlain by notions of property and ownership. The transformation of the landscape through enclosure was not merely a practical act relating to functionality, but one that was highly symbolic creating and reinforcing social differences.

### **Movement through the landscape**

The creation or imposition of enclosures and other boundaries across the landscape transformed the ways in which movement was possible through it. In many cases, the creation of fields and other boundaries took place in relation to earlier routes through the landscape such as Edenthorpe near Doncaster (see above). It is also likely that many of the early boundaries acted as both markers between distinct areas or territories and routeways, perhaps echoing the ways in which rivers are used as routes for movement as well as boundaries. Double-ditched linear cropmarks are frequently interpreted as routeways, with the ditches flanking a tract of land of similar width to a modern country lane. On the Yorkshire Wolds, such features are commonly associated with enclosures and ladder settlements (e.g. Stoertz 1997, 41–42). In some cases where the distance between the ditches diverges, resulting in a funnel-like arrangement, they are often found in association with rectilinear enclosures indicating that their function was to channel herds of animals. Whilst surface structures such as fences might not survive, the ditches of these features would have obstructed movement across them by either humans or livestock, and hence formalised *correct* avenues of movement through the landscape. Larger structures such as dykes might have served a dual purpose of creating boundaries and providing avenues for movement. As noted previously, these structures appear to have formalised earlier conceptual boundaries marked by nodes in the landscape, comprising earlier monument and natural features (see Tilley 2004). Again, this formalisation of routeways through the construction of physical barriers precluded free movement across the landscape by design.

Not all routes appear to have been formalised through such material transformations. For example, the Ridgeway in southern England is characterised by a



series of tracks across the landscape, including hollow-ways and presumed routes indicated by textual sources and maps. As a relatively dry and elevated route, the Ridgeway has a long history, facilitating trade and the movement of livestock (see also Richards 1978). On the basis of computer modelling, it has been suggested that the original route of the Ridgeway pre-dated the establishment of hillforts along its path (Bell and Lock 2000, 99). Excavation of one section near Uffington (Gosden and Lock 2003, 129–130) revealed a 1.4m wide flat-bottomed pathway worn, and perhaps cut, into the chalk. Excavations of a linear ditch that cut across the line of this early section of the Ridgeway (which was deliberately infilled during the Romano-British period) indicated that the route of the Ridgeway in this area would have needed to change to avoid this barrier (see also Gingell 1992, 38). The relationships with the subsequent development of hillforts in this area provide additional indications of shifts in relation to movement through the landscape. The computer modelling of the route based on least effort (Bell and Lock 2000) is perhaps more likely to reflect the original movement of animals rather than cultural choice, although the modelled route passed through the opposed entrances on a number of hillforts. The fact that two of these, Liddington and Rams Hill, had one of their entrances blocked, shows that the route would have necessarily altered (Gosden and Lock 2003, 133).

As suggested by the computer modelling by Bell and Lock (2000), it is likely that the earliest paths within the landscape were those worn by the movement of animals. It has been noted that the establishment of animal trails and their subsequent use by humans can provide a measure of long-term permanence and that the presence and use of such paths will naturally lead to concentrations of activity either near the paths, or purposefully away from them (Davies *et al.* 2005, 284). In other words, the paths might be seen as domesticated or culturally safe. It might be that such paths, which might not leave any archaeological evidence, existed between other markers in the landscape (e.g. Tilley 2004) prior to being formalised by dykes, ditches or hedges. Furthermore, we can be certain that many more routes through the landscape existed in later prehistory than are evidenced by the landscape archaeology for the period. In which case, the formalisation of some routes, effectively creating barriers to movement across them, indicates a particular cultural selection of those over others. Whilst it is likely that the functional needs such as drainage or livestock control would have been influences, the fact that some routes were formalised in ways that restricted movement other than by the new route indicates a level of imposition across the landscape, perhaps advantaging the rights and needs of certain groups over others.

Some of the strongest examples of routeways being imposed to the advantage of one group over another are seen with the development of Roman roads in northern England during the first century AD. In addition to longer routes that cut across the earlier cultural landscapes, the identification of a Roman road cutting across a later prehistoric landscape consisting of fieldsystems, enclosures and trackways to the south-east of Doncaster is salutary. Between the village of Austerfield to the south and Rossington to the north, a variety of prehistoric features, including regular brickwork-pattern fields and enclosures, was cut across by the Roman

road that now forms part of the Great North Road (Riley 1980; Chapman 1997). Here, the route between Lincoln (*via* Ermine Street) and York was positioned in stark contrast to the alignments of the earlier fields (Figure 5.3). It is likely that these fields and enclosures were being used prior to the imposition of the road that would have been consequently extremely disruptive. In addition to creating logistical challenges in terms of working the land and moving between fields, the road itself would have presented a strong symbol of the newly established authority. It is possible that, for some, the new route would have been beneficial for movement across wider tracts of land, but it seems most likely that such an act would have been perceived differently by different groups and individuals, but the road itself would have symbolised considerably more than a shift in practical considerations.

The study of the area of Derryville Bog in Co. Tipperary in Ireland provides a different insight into routeways during later prehistory in relation to shifting environmental parameters (Gowen *et al.* 2005). Through the study of the evolution of the bog in relation to cultural archaeology, a pattern of trackway construction emerged. Perhaps one of the most dramatic structures was Killoran 18, a long, multi-phased trackway that commenced as a wooden structure (dating to 1745 to 1405 cal BC), being later built up with stone and wood (around 1605 to 1410 cal BC). In this instance, the trackway extended east-west, connecting dryland on either side of the growing wetland across the fen between two areas of raised bog (Cross May *et al.* 2005, 63–64). The trackway became damaged due to its impact on the hydrology of the peatland, causing the bog to ‘burst’ (Caseldine and Gearey 2005). As the bog subsequently developed, a number of trackways were built to provide access to different areas of the bog. However, a longer, short-lived trackway, Cooleeny 31, constructed just before c. 600 BC across the southern part of Derryville Bog, is particularly relevant as it provided a routeway linking areas of dryland on opposing sides of the wetland across the narrowest section of the bog (Cross May *et al.* 2005, 68–69). It too was subsequently damaged by a bog-burst event. Unlike the earlier examples of later prehistoric routeways, these examples appear to have been constructed in order to maintain pre-existing routes through the landscape that had become less accessible due to the increased wetness and surface instability of the growing wetland. This is not dissimilar to the idea of some routeways formalising pre-existing, though less well marked, routes through the landscape (see Tilley 2004). Hence, whilst at one level it would seem appropriate to interpret the decision to construct these trackways within a context of environmental determinism, there would have been longer-term cultural requirements for the maintenance of these routes. Similar interpretations have been provided for other trackways such as the Iron Age Corlea 1 road in Ireland, which would have been suitable for wheeled transport (Raftery 1996). Within the Somerset levels, trackways linking areas of dryland have been discovered covering distances of up to 2.5km (Brunning and McDermott 2013), and similar sites have been excavated in the Netherlands, Denmark and Germany (e.g. Hayen 1987; Coles and Coles 1989; Casparie 2005).

Movement through the landscape during later prehistory would have varied considerably, and it is likely that the majority of routes will have left little or no



*Figure 5.3* Later prehistoric fields cut by a first-century Roman road in South Yorkshire, between the villages of Rossington to the north and Austerfield to the south. Based on Riley (1980).

archaeological evidence. Not all routes became formalised and even those that were well established might only have been so through their continued use rather than through the digging of ditches or the construction of banks and hedges. It is also true that waterways would have continued to be used as routes for movement (e.g. Haughey 2013), whilst also providing natural barriers or boundaries within the landscape. Where routes were formalised with renewed architecture such as banks, ditches and hedges, these would have impeded movement across them, reinforcing their status as preferred routes and embedding control of access. Such formalisation of routeways would have inevitably been to the benefit of some and the detriment of others, and this is dramatically demonstrated at the very end of prehistory with the imposition of Roman roads across the earlier cultural landscape. By contrast, in some cases, such as wetlands, the formalisation of routes might have been driven by environmental needs. However, as the creation of visible paths and routes through the landscape inevitably re-creates ways of behaving within these environments, then one can suggest that any formalised route represented more than just a functional avenue for travel. They represented a preferred or imposed method of movement, and the value of this might be seen more tangibly during later periods in the emergence of check-points and tolls. Whilst providing certain benefits, the formalisation of movement led to reductions in freedom for some and provided a visible, material transformation that symbolised both the potential for movement as well as the prevailing authority to determine the behaviours within the landscape.

### **Landscapes of industry**

As noted in Chapter 2, industrial processes are fundamentally processes of transformation, but can also have a dramatic impact on the landscape. Industrial activity comprises both the extraction of raw materials and the manufacture of objects and commodities. During later prehistory, extraction of raw materials included quarrying and mining, as well as woodland management and the production of salt from both coastal seawater and salt springs. Manufacture included home industries (e.g. wool, linen, leather, carpentry/woodworking and basketry), ironworking, non-ferrous metallurgy (e.g. copper, lead, silver and gold), pottery production, the crafting of raw materials (e.g. shale, jet and lignite), quernstone manufacture, specialist schools of metalworking and coin manufacture (Cunliffe 2005, chapter 18). Whilst some of these processes had little effect on the landscape, others had both direct and secondary impacts on the environment. Furthermore, certain concentrations of raw materials led to the imposition of other formal landscape arrangements in order to control or manage access to these resources.

Perhaps one of the most direct and universal impacts on the landscape resulted from the management of woodland over successive generations in order to produce appropriate timber for building. For the construction of the marsh-fort on Sutton Common in South Yorkshire, it was estimated that *c.* 6000 oak trees were required, but that they were sourced from the wider landscape beyond the pollen catchment (Van de Noort *et al.* 2007, 175; Figure 5.4), and it is likely that similar quantities of wood were required for other fort sites elsewhere. Similarly, for the



Figure 5.4 The surviving lower part of one of the larger posts from the marsh fort on Sutton Common, South Yorkshire.

Iron Age timber alignment identified near the village of Beccles in Suffolk, it is likely that at least 500 predominately oak timbers were used, which displayed evidence for overgrown coppicing, indicative of comprehensive woodland management (Gearey *et al.* 2011; 2016; see Chapter 4). Such acts of construction would have had a direct and dramatic transformative impact on the landscape, with dual changes brought about first by the cutting down of trees and second through the constructions that used this wood.

Quarrying was undertaken for the supply of suitable building stone, such as the limestone used in the facing of the box-rampart defences at the Sutton Common marsh-fort, which is most likely to have been brought to the site from a quarry approximately 5km away (Patrick 2007). Quarrying for objects such as quern-stones was more selective, with particular locations providing the most suitable stone (Cunliffe 2005, 509). In some cases, the availability of local stone meant that distributions of querns are rarely far from their sources, such as in Yorkshire (Hayes *et al.* 1980) and the Tees valley (Gwilt and Heslop 1995). Elsewhere, selected quarries produced the stone for querns that have been discovered over considerable distances. For example, petrological analysis has shown that a quarry at Lodsworth near Midhurst in Sussex provided the stone for querns that have been found across the whole of Wessex (Peacock 1987), and a quarry near Folkestone in Kent provided stone used across the south-east of England (Keller 1989).

The mining of raw materials had varying impacts on the environment. In some cases, mining sites were also used for the initial phases of refining processes, such as the smelting of iron ore. In some areas of Europe, the environmental impacts of these processes have been identified from the analysis of sediments. For example, in the Basque region of northern Spain, correlations have been found within peat deposits between woodland clearance for fuel and shifts in soil chemistry indicative of smelting (Monna *et al.* 2004). Similar environmental impacts associated with palaeometallurgy, including both high levels of woodland clearance and soil chemistry changes have been recorded in other parts of Europe (e.g. Jouffroy-Bapicot *et al.* 2007; De Vleeschouwer *et al.* 2010). Whilst the chemical impact of such processes is likely to have been unintentional, the processes of mining raw materials and processing them would have had significant and noticeable impacts on the environment.

High quantities of wood as a fuel would also have been required for many other industries such as the production of pottery or salt. For salt production from seawater, the typical process involved evaporation in large pans, followed by dissolving the salt and the salt-rich clay of the pans. The damp salt was then either evaporating in large boiling pans or placed within porous clay moulds and heated (Cunliffe 2005, 510). Examples are known from coastal areas around England (see Thomas and Fletcher 2001), and a large concentration of salt-making sites has been identified at Ingoldmells in Lincolnshire. The site's initial discovery revealed a circular kiln with associated broken ceramics, with a second, similar structure nearby (Grant 1904). Twelve additional sites were subsequently discovered eroding from the beach (Swinnerton 1932) and it was noted that nearby structures could be associated with this activity (Hazzledine-Warren 1932). Sections of evaporating troughs were identified from the site nearly half a century later (Ambrose and White 1981), and work undertaken in 2000 identified at least nine additional sites (Thomas and Fletcher 2001, 225; Fenwick *et al.* 2001). Whilst prehistoric salt-making is unlikely to have had the dramatic impact on the landscape that occurred during later periods of salt production (e.g. Grady 1998), the density of sites at Ingoldmells indicates the dominance of this industry, which would have been all the more visible due to the need for wood as fuel. In some areas, salt was extracted from saline springs, such as in the West Midlands of England, or from the salt mines in central Europe. Sites including Middlewich in the Cheshire plain and Droitwich in Worcestershire are two key sites in England (Morris 1985), whilst sites such as Dürrnberg and Hallstatt in Austria were worked for salt during later prehistory. At Hallstatt, new salt mines were opened at the end of the eighth century BC, contributing to a wide network of trade and resulting in high levels of wealth as expressed within burials in the area (Collis 1984, 79).

In addition to the physical transformation of landscapes resulting from industrial activities, the importance and rarity of certain non-portable resources required changes to the cultural landscape in relation to themes of ownership and control, such as the positioning of some hillforts being determined by the desire to control the exploitation of certain resources such as iron ore. For example, it is likely that the positioning of hillforts constructed on the Wadhurst Clay of the High Weald in south-eastern England was due to the substantial iron deposits within this geology,

and this is reflected by evidence for iron working found at four of the sites (Hamilton and Manley 2001, 31). It has been noted in more general terms that the architecture of prehistoric sites such as hillforts and their positions within the landscape provide a means of maintaining or extending social power (cf. Tilley 1994, 27), providing symbols of dominance as prominent landmarks within the landscape. It is likely that the two factors of control over natural resources and dominance of the landscape expressed through architecture and positioning were related.

Dominance of certain places extended to the control of the means of production, in relation to both materials and expertise. Industrial activity at sites such as Gussage All Saints, to the south-west of Salisbury, provides some indication of the relationship between wealth and artisan crafts, where the evidence from a large number of horse-harness and chariot fittings was interpreted as reflecting large-scale bronze working from a single workshop (Wainwright and Spratling 1973). This has subsequently led to the suggestion that the site held aristocratic status, with the bronze-worker either being controlled by or under the patronage of the owner who might have used the objects for trade and/or as gifts to dependents (Cunliffe 2005, 252), and it is possible that other enclosed sites held similar industrial functions. For larger sites, including some hillforts, industrial activities were focused within specific areas indicative of clear demarcation of different spaces for different functions, as at Danebury, where metalworking areas were concentrated within the southern, more sheltered area of the fort (Cunliffe 2003, 138). For some sites, there are indications that the significance of such activities extended beyond the purely practical. The discovery of scrap metalwork and nearby furnaces at Cadbury Camp near to an area of animal burials (Alcock 1975, 84) might indicate a level of ritual associated with industrial activity. Whilst the precise relationship between industrial activity and votive deposits remains open to debate, its association with specific places, status and religion reflect its careful management within the landscape.

It is clear that industrial activity in later prehistory had a direct impact on the landscape. From the impact of mining and quarrying, to the required management and disruption of woodland for fuel, the intensification of industrial activity throughout later prehistory resulted in significant transformations of the landscape. In the context of enchainment theory (cf. Ingold 2000, 2011, 2013) and process archaeology (cf. Gosden and Malafouris 2015), these and other industrial activities might be seen as reflecting a broad and complex network of relationships and individuals at work. These will have included those engaged in woodland management, extracting and trading in raw materials, processing, manufacture and trade, in addition to the processes of exchange or gift-giving in support of a hierarchy. The transformative nature of industrial activity also required, or led to, the construction of the cultural landscape focused around the control of resources and expertise, with an apparent increase in centralisation through time, particularly within areas occupied by hillforts. Even within the interiors of hillforts and enclosures, space was controlled with the demarcation of areas for particular industrial functions based presumably on practical requirements as well as the social demarcation of space. At varying resolutions, including wide-scale



trade networks, the control of regional or local resources and the demarcation of spaces by enclosure and within enclosures, later prehistoric industrial activity was a key facet in an increasingly focused control of the landscape.

### **Natural landscape change**

So far, this chapter has considered changes to the physical and cultural landscape resulting from aspects of social activity. However, landscape and environmental change are not always driven by cultural activity, although the relationship between the two can be far from clear. The dramatic impact on cultures stemming from natural disasters such as tsunamis or volcanic eruptions has been noted for certain areas and periods of prehistory. For example, the late seventh millennium BC Storegga slide tsunami resulted in catastrophic flooding following a submarine landslide on the Norwegian coastal margins (Weninger *et al.* 2008). Similarly, the impacts of more gradual changes, for example, in climate, have resulted in factors such as changing temperatures, sea-level rise and changes in environmental conditions including vegetation patterns and the growth of floodplains and wetlands. To complicate matters, there has been considerable debate about the drivers of environmental change (e.g. Buckland *et al.* 1997) as well as the impacts on cultural activity. The latter have commonly centred on the polemics regarding environmental determinism, although the level of acceptance of the impact of environmental changes on cultural activities in the past has shifted over recent decades (cf. Coombes and Barber 2005). Two principal themes are particularly relevant here. The first is the question of which types of change would have been noticed or identifiable by contemporary populations. Answering this requires detailed consideration of rates of change, in conjunction with an understanding of cultural behaviour at a particular time. For example, the spread of wetland might be more noticeable in relation to semi-permanent structures in the landscape, such as field boundaries, against which the spread could have been measured or noticed. A second thing to consider is how such changes would have been interpreted if indeed they were recognised.

There will be great earthquakes, and in various places famines and pestilences. And there will be terrors and great signs from heaven.

(*Luke 21:11*)

And the Lord was sorry that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him to his heart. So the Lord said, "I will blot out man whom I have created from the face of the land, man and animals and creeping things and birds of the heavens, for I am sorry that I have made them".

(*Genesis 6:6–7*)

Then they will know that I am the Lord, when I have made the land a desolation and a waste because of all their abominations that they have committed.

(*Ezekiel 33:29*)

For prehistory, it is likely that natural disasters and recognisable environmental changes would have been interpreted commonly as having metaphysical geneses. The impact of a natural disaster or observable environmental change might have been viewed as the result of the agency of supernatural forces. At the middle Bronze Age site of Flag Fen, near Peterborough, the repeated deposition of metal-work at a time of wetland expansion was interpreted as a human response to environmental change; providing votive offerings as appeals to supernatural agencies to stop or reverse the rising water levels that were flooding farmland (Pryor 2002). Events such as this might have been understood and interpreted for the community by religious leaders who would also hold the potential of offering solutions through mediation. Rather than being impotent in the face of natural change, acts of propitiation administered by these religious leaders could be directed towards reducing their chances or effects. The viability of propitiation rests on the belief that such natural events have agency and that they are intentional. It is within the context of perceived agency in the delivery of natural disasters or natural environmental changes that we might consider the role of iconoclasm. Speaking of Buddhist iconoclasm, it was noted that:

Among unintentional forms of destruction we might consider natural causes (earthquakes, typhoons, insects, accidental fires, exposure to the elements) ... Phenomena one might consider unintentional can be attributed to the intention of an unseen agent: earthquakes, for example, were sometimes understood as the acts of deities, Buddhas or dragons objecting to human landscaping or Heaven dissatisfied with the immoral behaviour of the emperor. (Today, even in America insurance companies call them 'acts of God'.)

(Rambelli and Reinders 2012, 177)

As a consequence, the authors noted that supernatural agency should be included within the vocabulary of iconoclasm. Within the context of the varying levels of the potential for people in the past to have recognised environmental change, and the varying levels of impact that these changes will have had, the following section explores factors of landscape change within the framework of iconoclasm as driven by supernatural agency. By necessity, this requires an assessment of both the relationship between the drivers of change and their subsequent physical manifestations, in addition to the rate of environmental change. For naturally driven landscape change to be considered as being driven by supernatural agency and intentionality, the change itself needs to have been recognisable at the time, either due to speed of change or in relation to cultural markers in the landscape.

### **Climate change in the first millennium BC**

[O]n that day all the springs of the great deep burst forth, and the flood-gates of the heavens were opened. And rain fell on the earth forty days and forty nights.

(*Genesis* 7.11)

In contrast with earlier periods, the principal driver for natural environmental change during the first millennium BC in north-western Europe was climate. Compared with events such as tsunamis, volcanoes or earthquakes, the recognisable effects on the environment of climate change are less immediate, sometimes with a latency of centuries or more between cause and effect. Whilst other types of catastrophic change can be readily linked with interpretations of metaphysical agency and intentionality (e.g. Chester *et al.* 2007), human response to climate change is much harder to determine, and is further complicated by issues of topography and landuse. Understanding the potential for human response first requires an understanding of the rate of environmental change to establish whether it would have been recognisable within generational timescales, and how this might have been possible in relation to permanent markers in the landscape, such as field boundaries. Second, it requires sufficiently close dating between palaeoenvironmental records and archaeological evidence of the perceived response to change, such as abandonment, adaptation or votive deposition. With such evidence it becomes possible to begin questioning whether causal links between the two records are appropriate (e.g. Cross May 2005; Chapman and Gearey 2013b).

Climatic deterioration in north-western Europe commenced around the ninth century BC, not becoming warmer and drier until around 150 BC (Simmons 2001). In the early 1980s, a review of evidence from mires led to the conclusion that there was “a catastrophic decline to a cooler and/or wetter climate” at this time (Barber 1982, 110), broadly corresponding to previously identified changes in peat sequences reflecting the Sub-Boreal/Sub-Atlantic transition. Narrow tree rings identified in Irish bog oaks at around 1159 to 1141 BC were attributed to unfavourable growing conditions and it was suggested that this might be linked to a peak in atmospheric acidity linked to the volcanic eruption of Hekla 3 in Iceland (Baillie and Munro 1988), as had been identified in the Greenland ice sheet and dated to between the early eighth and late eleventh centuries BC (Hammer *et al.* 1980).

Subsequent research has questioned the relevance of volcanic activity on the climate of north-western Europe during later prehistory (e.g. Buckland *et al.* 1997), although evidence for climatic deterioration from the ninth century BC has continued to accumulate. In particular, the study of records from peat bogs, and particularly of surface wetness at different periods, has contributed to this debate (cf. Barber and Langdon 2001), where previous challenges of dating palaeoclimatic events and correlating these between sampling sites are being addressed through ‘wiggle-matching’ radiocarbon dates and integrating other records such as layers of tephra from dated volcanic events (Blackford 2000). For example, a study of the records from three bogs in England and Ireland revealed consistent periods of climatic change at some periods, although only two of the three identified climatic deterioration during the early first millennium BC (Barber *et al.* 2002). Overall, the evidence for climatic deterioration during the late Bronze Age/early Iron Age is growing. Following an initial shift to cool/wet conditions, the early centuries of the first millennium BC commenced with an initial phase of warm and dry conditions, followed by a shift to cooler, wet conditions (van Geel

*et al.* 1996; Berglund 2003). This shift to cooler, wetter conditions appears to have been made more dramatic as a result of a synchronous rise in atmospheric  $^{14}\text{C}$  relating to a reduction in solar activity, rather than volcanic activity, resulting in what has been interpreted as an “abrupt climate change” between 850 and 760 cal BC (van Geel *et al.* 1998, 535). The apparent abruptness of this event means that it could potentially have been recognisable by contemporary generations

The timing and speed of the climatic downturn from *c.* 850 cal BC coincides with changes in the archaeological record. It has been seen as a possible trigger for cultural changes across north-western Europe (Baillie 1989a; 1989b; Burgess 1989; van Geel and Renssen 1998), including patterns of adaptation and abandonment of settlement sites and the loss of agricultural land (e.g. van Geel *et al.* 1998). In Britain, such evidence includes the abandonment or reduction in intensity of settlement at this time in areas including the upland regions of Dartmoor, Bodmin Moor and parts of Northumberland and the Scottish Borders, in addition to lower lying regions such as the settlements and field systems of the Thames valley (Yates 1999). However, the relationship between climate change and human response has been criticised on the basis that chronological correlation might not necessarily indicate any causal link (Buckland *et al.* 1997). Regional studies have also raised the suggestion that the evidence for actual abandonment within upland or marginal areas is actually very limited, leading to interpretations that focus more on themes of resilience and adaptation instead (e.g. Young and Simmonds 1995; Tipping 2002).

In a study aimed at addressing this question, by exploring the evidence for landuse change in relation to climate change using palynological evidence, it was demonstrated that there was no evidence for wholesale abandonment during the period 850 to 350 cal BC, despite a regional bias in well-dated pollen sequences (Dark 2006). For some marginal areas, it seemed that pastoralism might have become more important compared with arable cultivation, perhaps as soils in some places became less suitable. This shift in economy resulted in a more extensive rather than intensive use of the landscape, with larger areas required to support the same population under a pastoral economy. However, in other areas, there was an increase in arable cultivation at this time (see above), perhaps to counter reduced yields following climatic deterioration. This study also highlighted the lack of evidence for any significant impact from Icelandic volcanic eruptions during the period.

The climatic deterioration during the early first millennium BC certainly provided a new context for farming and other activities. Whilst chronological correlation might not necessarily relate to causality (Buckland *et al.* 1997), the archaeological and palaeoenvironmental evidence does indicate some changes in behaviour. Changes in agricultural practice, such as from arable cultivation to pasture, could reflect the direct impact of cooler wetter conditions on the ability to grow crops and, if sufficiently rapid, could have been recognised at the generational scale. However, the greatest impacts are likely to have been from the secondary effects of climate change, resulting from environmental change, as it is more likely that such changes would have been noticeable compared with shifts in

the climate itself. The principal challenge lies in understanding the rates of change and, particularly, where changes are sufficiently prolonged to leave an identifiable trace. The exploration of changes through the proxy evidence of plant and animal (e.g. testate amoebae) remains is dependent on thresholds being passed resulting in changes to the makeup of these communities. Hence, the perception of environmental change is frequently dependent on the secondary or derived effects of climate change.

### **Secondary effects of climate change and understanding rates of change**

The environmental effects resulting from climate change can take a considerable time to develop, and hence the human perception of change can be divorced from the determining event. A clear example of this are shifts in relative sea-level following the melting of ice sheets at the start of the Holocene. At the start of this period, when sea-level was at its lowest, lowland rivers in the UK incised deeply to as low as  $-15\text{m}$  Ordnance Datum (OD) to compensate as they drained the land (Metcalf *et al.* 2000). As sea-level rose, the consequent impeded run-off led to the ponding of these rivers, ultimately resulting in very different river profiles and the formation of floodplains. The process of change was time transgressive, meaning that floodplains developed later during higher reaches of the rivers. In some areas, this process took millennia, with subsequent changes such as the formation of wetlands, and the transition of some floodplain environments into raised bog.

A study focused on modelling the potential for the perception of the impact of early Holocene sea-level rise used GIS to explore the extent of inundation across a landscape analogous to that beneath the North Sea (Chapman and Lillie 2004). For the study area, this indicated that the rate of change to the landscape was variable. For the first *c.* 100 years after the initiation of sea-level rise, very little would have changed environmentally but, after this, there was extremely rapid and extensive inundation. Surprisingly, the most dramatic effects were noted for the later Mesolithic period despite the fact that this was a period during which the rate of sea-level rise had reduced. Whilst this study explored an earlier and quite different climatic event, it showed that the perception of subsequent environmental changes could be both delayed and occur at times after which the driving factors for this change had ceased.

By the start of the second millennium BC, the rise in sea-level had reached something comparable with OD within central parts of the UK (Long *et al.* 1998), but relative sea-level varied across different regions. The effect of land subsidence (in the south) and uplift (in the north) resulting from isostatic adjustment led to increased flooding or distance from the coast respectively. With an average late Holocene rise in relative sea-level of  $0.5\text{mm yr}^{-1}$  (see Shennan and Horton 2002), the impact of flooding on sites on the south coast could have been considerable, as indicated by the flooding of the second century BC trading site of Green Island in Poole Harbour (Cunliffe 2005, 479; Chapman 2006, plate 12). More work is

needed to determine the precise timing of such events, and hence the extent to which they would have been recognised by prehistoric communities.

In some instances, the environmental impacts of climatic change might have been more rapidly observed. In a study of flood episodes throughout the Holocene (Macklin and Lewin 2003), radiocarbon dates from alluvial deposits were compared with those for climatic shifts identified from wet-shifts in peat bogs (Hughes *et al.* 2000) and North Atlantic ice-rafting events (Bond *et al.* 1997). The study revealed a high level of chronological correlation, indicating that the frequency of river flooding was closely related to climatic shifts, including those during the first millennium BC. Despite the challenges of precisely dating flooding events during this period due to the plateau in the radiocarbon calibration curve, there appears to have been increased flooding at this time, extending back to the middle of the third millennium BC. It was suggested that one factor influencing a greater susceptibility for rivers to flood was, for some regions, a reduction in land-cover vegetation resulting from woodland clearance, larger scale agriculture and arable cultivation that would have increased runoff and sediment supply into rivers (Macklin and Lewin 2003, 104). The dramatic impact of flooding, probably resulting from such increased sediment supply, has been noted for Roman period sites within the Humber region where it appears to have led to the interruptions in cultural activity, as at Sandtoft, at the confluence of the rivers Don and Idle (Samuels and Buckland 1978), and Adlingfleet, near the confluence of the rivers Trent and Humber (Fenwick *et al.* 1998). It has been noted that the same processes of landuse change such as woodland clearance also resulted in a reduction in evapotranspiration with the consequence of rising groundwater levels. The increased organic preservation and gleying of soils within ditch fills on archaeological sites dating from the middle/late Bronze Age through to the middle Iron Age within the upper Thames basin was seen as possible evidence for this (Robinson and Lambrick 1984). In effect, such changes were brought about through unintentional human intervention, although it is unlikely that they would have been recognised as such at the time.

The picture is complex, particularly as this period was also one of agricultural expansion and woodland clearance. Shifts in agricultural practice have the potential of both exacerbating the impacts of environmental change, such as through increased colluviation entering river systems, and being more sensitive to the effects of change, such as through shorter growing seasons. Whilst it is likely that the immediate effects of climatic change will have been noticeable within generational timescales, this would have been restricted to areas and cultural practices more sensitive to change. Whilst debate continues regarding how communities living in marginal areas such as uplands might have adapted to change (e.g. Dark 2006), the specifics of other environments and the ways in which they were managed and farmed would have presented their own differing levels of susceptibility. Regional paleoclimate data do not reveal the variations of local environmental change that would have been experienced by individuals and communities in the past. Whether some acts such as votive deposition peatlands can be linked to increased surface wetness reducing accessibility to previously economically

viable areas, or deposition in rivers linked with increased flooding, remains to be demonstrated, but the potential is high.

## **Conclusions – breaking landscapes**

Far from being neutral, landscapes represent complex layers of meaning. In the words of Christopher Tilley, “the landscape is both medium *for* and outcome *of* action and previous histories of action” (Tilley 1994, 23). Being understood and interpreted through individual action, the plurality of meanings and values attributed to landscapes can be reinforced or challenged through different forms of discursive or material transformation. Hence, intentional changes to landscapes might be considered as attacks on them within a framework of iconoclasm discourse. This chapter has focused on moments and processes of physical change to landscapes in later prehistory. Within the context of all landscapes holding meaning for contemporary individuals and communities, these events are interpreted as breaking the preceding landscape through the construction of the new, frequently seen as privileging one intentionality over others.

The discussion of cultural landscape change has focused on five principals, though overlapping, themes comprising woodland clearance, dividing the landscape, the act of enclosure, movement through the landscape and industrial activity. In addition to discussing the evidence for these changes within later prehistory, it has been shown how many of these would have been understood through iterative transformations. Clearing trees with axes, for example, would have resulted in stumps that are likely to have persisted *in situ* for a considerable length of time, as an intermediate stage between woodland and fields; a monument to the cultural significance that the trees once represented (cf. Skoglund 2012). In relation to land division and enclosure, the evidence highlights a commensurate shift towards centralised land ownership, with the use of constructed boundaries indicative of new models of social behaviour reflecting themes of inclusion and exclusion. The redefining of the landscape along these lines within a context of property and ownership indicates winners and losers, creating new norms of movement within and through the landscape, and increased control over industrial resources, including raw materials and expertise. The chronological focus for these changes centres on the first half of the first millennium BC, although the impacts of change would have been iterative through time.

Whilst natural environmental change has no agency or intentionality, there is reason to believe that such events were seen as being driven by metaphysical or supernatural forces, as indicated by iconoclastic Byzantine responses to the eruption of Santorini in AD 725 (Driessen and MacDonald 2000; see Chapter 1). For events such as this, which resulted in tsunamis in the Aegean and significant loss of life, the immediacy of the event would have made it impossible to ignore and respond to. In contrast, the greatest driver for environmental change in north-western Europe during later prehistory was climatic deterioration. Whilst it is possible that an abrupt change to cooler, wetter conditions around the ninth century BC could have had a recognisable and direct impact on some communities, the



effects of the longer-term derived effects of subsequent environmental change are more likely to have had a bigger impact. The nature of this impact will have varied due to many factors, including location and agricultural practices. Although cultural adaption might have been more common than abandonment (cf. Dark 2006), the recognition of environmental change at the time is difficult to determine. For some areas, such as the site of Zwolle-Ittersumerbroek on the river IJssel in the Netherlands, impeded drainage following climatic change was sufficient to make the settlement uninhabitable due to its low-lying plateau position (van Geel *et al.* 1998, 538). For others, environmental change would have been less readily indefinable. How the variations in the experience of such changes in different places was understood and interpreted at the time is not known or, assuming that supernatural intervention was seen as a driver of change, how this was responded to.

This chapter began with a discussion of landscape iconoclasm in association with heritage protection, based on the cultural value that is placed upon specific locales by contemporary society. Although a debated notion in itself, heritage remains just one of a plethora of values and meanings attributed to landscapes both today and in the past. Such attributes may apply to specific features within a landscape, to vistas or to less tangible notions of place and belonging. Disruption of, and change to, the physical characteristics of landscape can therefore be seen variously as augmentations or attacks to a much broader range of practical characteristics and conceptual ideals. Some attacks on heritage landscapes have been defined as cultural genocide (Bevan 2006), but the same might be said for many of the transformations of landscapes during the first millennium BC, with the redefining of space and movement both within and through them. Natural disasters are likely to have been seen in similar ways, but being driven by a perceived metaphysical agency, requiring adaptation or perhaps propitiation. For north-western Europe, the principal driver of environmental change at this time was climatic deterioration and, for some areas, the impacts from this would have been identifiable and dramatic.

## 6 Iconoclasm and later prehistory?

### Defining iconoclasm

Semantic definitions of iconoclasm typically refer to the breaking of images or representations. Images or representations broken will normally relate to those of veneration and so an act of iconoclasm is both the physical attack on an object and a symbolic attack on institutions and beliefs that it represents. In this context, the interpretation of an act of breakage as iconoclastic requires an understanding of the motivations behind it. With an absence of written sources to provide evidence of such intentionality, it is perhaps not surprising that there has been no previous consideration of iconoclasm in prehistory. However, a deeper examination of the ways in which acts of iconoclasm have been interpreted in the historical past reveals a much broader usage of the term that encompasses a wider range of targets of attack and levels of destruction, alongside a more complex assortment of intentions. Recent iconoclasm scholarship provides a theoretical basis for the analysis of this augmented range of actions, and this book has presented its application to the study of later prehistory.

The key periods that have been the focus for the study of iconoclasm in the past include Antiquity, the Byzantine period, the Protestant Reformation and the French Revolution. For more recent periods, the word has been used in relation to the World Wars of the early twentieth century, attacks on representations of despotic leaders, the building and destruction of the Berlin Wall and attacks by fundamentalist religious groups including the Taliban and ISIS. For different periods and places, the applications of the word can be very different, although in all cases, they extend beyond any strict etymological definition. In terms of the targets of iconoclasm, examples extend beyond imagery and statues to include text, symbolic objects, monuments and the human body. For aniconic cultures, other targets include woodland and trees (Sauer 2014), or even fire, as in the case of Zoroastrianism in Persia (Gaddis 2005). As Latour (2002) describes it, the object targeted by iconoclastic acts can be seen as a mediator between the iconoclast and what is seen to be symbolised by it. Furthermore, whilst the medium being attacked can vary widely, so can what it is seen to represent, extending well beyond any strict religious definition. This can range from objects seen

as containing a sinister *presence*, or symbols reflecting cults of personality, to broader symbols such as flags, secular buildings or cities (cf. Noyes 2013b).

The acts of breakage referenced within iconoclasm scholarship are also very broad, ranging from the rare cases of total annihilation at the one extreme, through to acts of discursive transformation where there is no physical alteration of the object at all at the other. In some instances, the removal, concealing or covering of an object might be considered as iconoclastic, destroying the potency of an object without compromising its physical integrity. Frequently, breakage results in the creation of something new, but referencing the old in a number of different ways. Even in cases of *damnatio memoriae*, where the implied intention is to obliterate the memory of an individual, a common theme is one of mutilation rather than removal, allowing the defaced object to remain visible, particularly within public spaces. In stark contrast, there are some cases where physical modifications are not visible, being replaced entirely by something new without reference to the earlier object, as with the painting over of images or the re-carving of statues.

The motivations behind many acts of iconoclasm are in some way religious, although it is clear from the examples outlined that the separation between the sacred and the profane is rarely distinct. Whether relating to the divine rights of leaders, or the relationships between religion and power, there is a blurring between boundaries. Hence, for religious or other reasons, certain images or objects, or parts of them, might cause offence requiring their removal. In certain cases, the original intention of the performers of these acts has not been to destroy, although the outcomes have been interpreted as vandalism or iconoclasm either by their contemporaries or by subsequent generations who hold differing views. In the cases of architectural restoration (Buchanan 2007; Hiller von Gaertringer 2007) or object conservation (Cane and Ashley-Smith 2013), the interpretation of iconoclasm is one that has been projected onto an act of change originally undertaken by others who presumably had benevolent intentions at the time. The iconoclasts can include angry mobs, as in the early stages of the Protestant Reformation, as well as much more subtle actors, such as those who commissioned artisan specialists to carry out the acts of destruction on their behalf following the French Revolution. This blurring of agency and intentionality can be even more problematic, such as where breakage is achieved through deliberate lack of intervention or collaterally, as in the case of the removal of the soundscape in Revolutionary Paris following attacks on churches that included the removal of bells (Clay 2012b). Natural damage can be seen as having metaphysical agency, and hence be responsible for direct breakage or, as in the case of Byzantium, can be responded to by further acts of iconoclasm. Whilst intentionality is often seen as a necessary ingredient in the definition of acts of iconoclasm, in practice, it is challenging to identify, even where historical documents exist, and it has been suggested that the traditional themes of intentionality and agency might not be the best ways in which to consider iconoclasm (Rambelli and Reinders 2012, 117).

The fluid way in which the word iconoclasm has been applied to acts of breakage has resulted in attempts to either define it or to identify more specific or valid

terms to use. For example, distinctions have been identified in relation to other terms such as *vandalism*, or between the literal destruction or opposition to images or works of art, and the metaphorical attack on institutions or beliefs (Gamboni 1997, 18). Alternatively, classification has been made through the use of words with apparently less specific meanings, from the Byzantine notion of image struggle, or *iconomachy* (Brubaker 2013, 17), to the use of the word *iconoclasm*, for instances where the motivation behind breakage was uncertain (Latour 2002, 16). More specific terms have also been suggested, such as *semioclasm*, referring to the destruction or denial of meaning of an object, or its subclass, *hieroclasm*, for when such meaning is inherently sacred (Rambelli and Reinders 2012, 172). Such categorisations provide ways of thinking about specific events of breakage but, despite what they offer in terms of clarity, they become limiting when discussing the breadth of examples (cf. Gamboni 1997, 24). If it is considered that all acts that are variously discussed as iconoclastic reflect a target that signifies some level of symbolic meaning, and that the scale of breakage relates to differing levels of material or non-material alteration, then the term *sign transformation* provides a useful and suitably broad definition. By removing strict etymological classifications, this “avoids pejorative analyses, or the reification of the phenomena under study” (Clay 2012a, 281), making its application entirely suitable for the study of prehistory.

### **Meaning making and moments of transformation**

Within the broad range of different targets for iconoclastic acts identified from previous scholarship, this book has focused on four themes that represent different foci for the study of later prehistory, comprising objects, the human body, monuments and landscapes. Underlying the choices of examples explored within these themes has been the requirement that, within the framework of sign transformation, they signify something beyond their physical form, and that changes to them would have elicited shifts in meaning. Of the numerous moments of change discussed, many would be hard to define on strict etymological grounds as iconoclastic. The manufacturing of an object such as a sword in later prehistory, for example, might not be politically or religiously motivated, but it can provide a potent example of meaning making that symbolises a range of factors beyond the creation of a shaped piece of metal with the ability to cut. Such acts of creation reference meanings and values associated with factors including the raw materials used and the processes of their procurement and the artisan skills of manufacture, in addition to political themes of control of both natural and human resources and social aspects of enchainment and interaction. What an object signifies will vary for different individuals or groups depending on their own backgrounds, beliefs and cultural experiences. The inclusion of specific forms of temper within the fabric of a pot might reference earlier objects or exotic materials; for calcined bone temper, this might represent the fragmented remains of ancestors incorporated within the object (Woodward 2002, 1042). Such objects are more likely to hold different meanings for relatives or members of a kinship group than they will for

outsiders, but these enriched meanings are reliant on the retention of knowledge relating to the manufacture of the object.

Plural meanings will also have related to acts of physical breakage. The destruction of the grove near *Massilia* in 49 BC by Roman forces was seen very differently by the iconoclasts compared with the native population (Lucan *Pharsalia* 3.399–454). Similarly, an object manufactured for the purpose of breakage, such as the spears identified within some of the Arras graves, will have projected very different meanings and values compared with one that had been handed down through successive generations. Equally, at the moment of human sacrifice, the victim might be understood in various ways depending on their relationships with members of the community performing the ceremony. Furthermore, different forms of transformation reflect different levels of physical or conceptual reversibility (cf. Rambelli and Reinders 2012). Dismantling objects, such as the Gundestrup cauldron in Jutland or a cart/chariot prior to burial in Yorkshire, indicates a level of potential reversibility that is clearly not possible for examples of breakage such as the snapping of a shield on a graveside in Kent or the smashing of the sculpted stone head at Mšecké Žehrovice in Bohemia. Similar parallels can be observed for the human body between temporary transformations such as dress or hairstyles, and permanent changes such as tattooing or scarification, all of which bestow meaning according to cultural norms. Such notions of reversibility are clearly important for interpretation, particularly because arguments for ritual sacrifice often centre on the inability to retrieve a votive offering once it has been given (cf. van Gennepe 2011).

The meanings and values associated with an object, person, monument or landscape will vary considerably across a community and they will change diachronically. In the short term, the selection of an object for a particular purpose such as deposition will change the way that it is understood, whilst in the longer term, certain objects will accrue different types of value and meaning. Objects can become culturally valuable as a result of sequences of exchange, use and display (Appadurai 1986), and functionally redundant objects may be retained as heirlooms (Woodward 2002). In some instances, fragmented objects or human remains might serve new purposes and meanings, as relicts, talismans or amulets, and might even be broken for this purpose (Chapman 2000). The plurality of potential meanings for objects, people, monuments and landscapes is fundamental to our understanding of past change, in addition to acknowledging how such meanings might have changed through time and with different knowledge bases.

Iconoclasm can be used as a tool for reinforcing the dominance of one particular discourse over others, and this can be manifested through public building or through repeated rituals. In terms of the former, the construction of boundaries, the formalisation of routeways and the development of hillforts each demonstrate various phases of social and political reinforcement. The choice of location for many early hillforts across earlier boundaries can be seen as an expression of dominance reflecting a shift from communal to individual ownership (Cunliffe 1990). Similarly, the choice of locations for hillforts constructed during the middle Iron Age, which frequently monumentalised impressive and highly visible

landforms (Cunliffe 2005, 388–389), provided strong visual symbols of control across the landscape. More locally, ritual activities can assist in reinforcing a dominant discourse, and it is possible that repeated acts of votive deposition or human sacrifice reflected such ideals. Acts of iconoclasm can be effective in defining power relationships, although the processes of meaning making are complex. Physical transformation, either through the construction of monuments and landscape change or through the performance of ritualised ceremonies, only denotes one stage in these processes, and it is unlikely that the intended creation of meaning ends at the moment of completion. The memories of individuals and groups will persist, sometimes reinforced by the necessary timescales of change, such as in the case of woodland clearance or the building of monuments. It is rare for any act of iconoclasm to leave no identifiable residue of what has gone before. As with modern acts of iconoclasm, there will have been those who condemned acts of breakage and other transformations and those that condoned them. There will also have been those who felt less connected to the event to formulate strong opinions. What is clear is that themes of iconoclasm highlight the plurality of meanings that objects will have elicited and how these will have changed through time, particularly in relation to different forms of transformation.

### **Performing iconoclasm**

In addition to drawing focus on the diachronic plurality of meanings and values, the many different forms of iconoclasm highlight the ways in which transformations can be performed. Iconoclasm is understood in relation to the notion that changes are linked with some level of communication of intended meaning, and hence it requires a relationship between performers and audience. In particular, the examples discussed in this book have shown how acts of physical transformation draws attention to details of temporality and spatiality, in addition to the actors performing them.

Different acts of breakage dictate different temporal frameworks. Broken and disfigured objects found within graves such as those from Deal in Kent (Parfitt 1995) and Acklam Wold in East Yorkshire (Dent 1983) are likely to have been damaged at the time of burial (Giles 2015), indicating a very short moment of transformation. In contrast, the time required for the construction of monumental projects, such as hillforts, would have been considerable, whilst the clearance of woodland might have resulted in residual stumps remaining visible for a number of years. However, for some objects, defining timescales for breakage and deposition are more complex. For example, an object such as the Gundestrup cauldron would have been chosen for dismantling and deposition prior to the event, at which time it would have accrued additional layers of meaning through the act of selection. It is likely that the process of dismantling was by force (Bergquist and Taylor 1987, 13), indicating that it could either have taken place prior to its movement to Rævemosen bog or on site, perhaps as part of a ceremony. Similarly, challenging timescales are presented when we consider victims of likely human sacrifice. In the case of individuals such as Lindow II, Tollund Man and Grauballe

Man, the apparently unusual final meals eaten by them, revealed by their stomach contents, provides a timescale of hours, although it is possible that the selection of the individual took place a considerable time before this.

These examples of likely human sacrifice also open up questions about the locations for the different events. Available evidence for the placement of bodies within bogs (e.g. Chapman 2015) indicates that some individuals are most likely to have been killed at the site of deposition. However, the process of sacrifice was enacted across multiple locations, from the selection of the individual and their final meal (assuming this was not eaten on the bog) to their final moments. Whilst remaining strongly linked with temporality, the performance of iconoclasm also highlights detail about the spatiality of the event. Some acts will necessarily take place across multiple locations, whilst others will be fixed to a particular place. From the perspective of the observer, or audience, the choice of specific locations might hold additional significance. For example, the creation of monuments in highly visible locations, as in the case of many middle Iron Age hillforts, their visibility from areas across the landscape emphasises their dominance. The use of space is clearly of importance for meaning making within theatre (e.g. McAuley 1999), and the same can be said for the performance of iconoclasm and for what it creates. The imposition of structures such as monuments, fields and routeways, or the creation of enclosures and the division of internal spaces, all dictate the ways in which daily life is enacted and ultimately reinforces the dominant authority.

Moments of iconoclasm are enacted by individuals and groups. Of the wide range of examples discussed, some will have required large proportions of the community, or coerced workers, to complete, as in the case of monument construction and landscape change. For others, a focus on the specificity of the events highlights the potential number of people involved in a particular event, and the types of people that may have been included. For the ceremonial killing of Lindow II, for example, the injuries and their position on the body indicate that at least two or three individuals were involved to hold him upright following the initial blows to the head, and that one of these individuals had an excellent understanding of anatomy (cf. West 1986). The dramatic effect that the combination of garroting and throat slitting would have had betrays skills perhaps resulting from experience in acts such as butchery or animal sacrifice. Equally, for the elaborate bending of swords or the dismantling of the carts/chariots from the Arras burials, skilful knowledge is likely to have been required in order to achieve the desired effect. In addition to drawing focus on the plurality of meaning, the application of approaches from iconoclasm research highlights the specifics of events of change, whether in relation to timescales, places, motivations and intentionality, or to the individuals and groups performing the acts of transformation and those observing them.

## **Iconoclasm and later prehistory**

It is unlikely that anyone in later prehistory considered the acts of intentional breakage of symbolic objects as iconoclastic, although it is clear from the discussion



that aspects of change during the period can be categorised within the frameworks devised by iconoclasm scholars (e.g. Rambelli and Reinders 2012). In practice, iconoclasm in later prehistory shares many similarities to that of other periods. It has been shown that many of the examples from periods and places that have been the traditional focus for scholars interested in iconoclasm fall outside of any strict etymological definition of the word, and that much of the interpretation of specific acts rests primarily on the evidence from material culture rather than contemporaneous textual sources. The broad definition of iconoclasm as *sign transformation* (Clay 2012a) facilitates a more direct approach for examining moments of change during later prehistory; a period that is itself frequently classified on the basis of typological change. Although not all change can be framed within debates of iconoclasm, the semiotic approach draws focus on objects, people, monuments and landscapes that can be interpreted as eliciting symbolic meaning beyond their immediate physical or functional affordances. Furthermore, greater clarity is possible when considering moments of change where the act of transformation can be interpreted as being intended to communicate meaning.

The iconoclasm literature shows how acts can take place at different resolutions in both time and space. For politically motivated actions, iconoclasm can be enacted by a dominant authority on smaller groups in order to modify or enforce power relationships. Through acts that emphasise the dominance of a particular discourse, and sympathisers to it, iconoclasm can be used either to maintain political control or to enact and legitimise a new order. For later prehistory, the creation of new landscapes through the construction of monuments, field patterns and routeways can be seen in this framework, though conflating both uses within the context of expansion and centralisation throughout the period. We might also see the ritualised breakage and deposition of objects and even people in this light. Rather than being just a religious response to factors such as environmental change (e.g. Pryor 2002), such events can be seen as a ritualised process of reinforcing the dominant political authority at a time of potential social crisis.

The identification of other forms of iconoclasm during later prehistory is variable. This book has focused on a wide range of transformations including those that reflect moments of change in the biographies of objects, people, monuments and landscapes. However, for areas of iconoclasm carried out in rebellion against the prevailing discourse, the evidence is not forthcoming. For more recent periods, such acts are typified on the one hand by the breakage of monuments by religious fundamentalists, and on the other, by subversive actions such as graffiti. Whilst a culture of rebellion was evident by the first century AD as demonstrated by uprisings by groups including the Iceni and Ordovices, evidence for earlier phases of subversive iconoclasm has yet to be identified.

To focus on the challenges in the identification of certain types of iconoclastic acts in later prehistory would be to miss the point of applying the theoretical frameworks generated by iconoclasm scholarship to the period. Even though it is possible to interpret numerous acts of breakage, modification and transformation during prehistory as being iconoclastic, the principal merits lie in the approach. An enriched interpretation of later prehistory is presented by centring on the plural

meanings and values of objects, bodies, monuments and landscapes, and the ways in which such meanings and values change diachronically and through moments and processes of transformation. The frameworks presented by iconoclasm scholarship highlight the importance of themes including agency, intentionality and motivation in acts of change, whilst also acknowledging the different levels of breakage and ideas of reversibility of destruction. Together, these force us to ask deeper questions of our data that draws focus on the temporality, the spatiality and the performers of change. Such a framework facilitates the integration and enrichment of more traditional approaches to the study of prehistory. The new questions raised add layers of meaning to object-biographical approaches (cf. Gosden and Marshall 1999), and acknowledge the importance of fragmentation (cf. Chapman 2000) through the ways that damaged or partial objects can serve new purposes with added meaning (e.g. Croxford 2003). The processes of transformation (cf. Gosden and Malafouris 2015) are not always directly visible within the archaeological record, but this does not mean that they should be overlooked.

The primary intention in writing this book was to apply the theoretical frameworks that have emerged from iconoclasm scholarship to the study of later prehistory, and there were two main rationales for doing so. First, despite parallels with other periods that have been studied along these lines, there has not previously been any comprehensive assessment of iconoclasm in prehistory. Second, such an assessment would facilitate an exploration and demonstration of how these frameworks might enrich the ways in which we ask questions of, and interpret, the period. Extending from this, the second intention of this book was to provide a foundation from which further research might be conducted and applied to other areas of archaeological investigation. Often, the most productive areas of study lie in the integration of different disciplinary approaches, and I hope that this book has demonstrated how this is the case for iconoclasm and later prehistory.

This page intentionally left blank

# Bibliography

- Adorno, T. 1967. *Prisms*, translated by S. Weber and S. Weber. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Alcock, L. 1975. 'By South Cadbury, is that Camelot...' *Excavations at Cadbury Castle 1966–1970*. London: Book Club Associates.
- Alcock, L. 1980. The Cadbury Castle sequence in the first millennium BC. *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 28, 656–718.
- Aldhouse-Green, M. 2001. *Dying for the gods. Human sacrifice in Iron Age and Roman Europe*. Stroud: Tempus.
- Aldhouse-Green, M. 2004a. *An archaeology of images. Iconology and cosmology in Iron Age and Roman Europe*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Aldhouse-Green, M. 2004b. Chaining and shaming: images of defeat, from Llyn Cerrig Bach to Samitzegetusa. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 23(3), 319–340.
- Aldhouse-Green, M. 2005. Ritual bondage, violence, slavery and sacrifice in later European prehistory, in M. Parker Pearson and I.J.N. Thorpe (eds.) *Warfare, violence and slavery in prehistory*, 155–163. Oxford: BAR International Series 1374.
- Aldhouse-Green, M. 2015. *Bog bodies uncovered. Solving Europe's ancient mystery*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Allison, M. 1996. Early mummies from coastal Peru and Chile, in K. Spinder, H. Wilfing, E. Rastbichler-Zissermig, D. zur Nedden and H. Nothdurfter (eds.) *Human mummies*, 125–130. Vienna: Springer.
- Andrews, R.L., J.M. Adovasio, D.C. Hyland, D.G. Harding and J.S. Illingsworth 2001. Textiles and cordage from Windover Bog (8BR246), in B. Purdy (ed.) *Enduring records. The environmental and cultural heritage of wetlands*, 18–37. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Appadurai, A. 1986. Introduction: commodities and the politics of value, in A. Appadurai (ed.) *The social life of things: commodities in cultural process*, 3–63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ardagna, Y., A. Richier, G. Vernet and O. Dutour 2005. A case of beheading dating from the Celtic period (La Tène B, Sarliève-Grande Halle, France). *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 15(1), 73–76.
- Armit, I. 2012. *Headhunting and the body in Iron Age Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Armit, I., C. Gaffney and A. Hayes 2012. Space and movement in an Iron Age oppidum: integrating geophysical and topographic survey at Entremont, Provence. *Antiquity* 86(331), 191–206.

- Aston, M. 2003. Public worship and iconoclasm, in D. Gaimster and R. Gilchrist (eds.) *The archaeology of Reformation 1480–1580*, 9–28. Leeds: Maney Publishing.
- Atkinson, R.J.C. 1975. British prehistory and the radiocarbon revolution. *Antiquity* 49(195), 173–177.
- Atkinson, S. 1993. The evaluation of cropmarks at Thorne Road, Edenthorpe (SE 629 069). *Archaeology in South Yorkshire 1992–1993*, 59–60. Sheffield: South Yorkshire Archaeology Service.
- Augoustakis, A. 2006. Cutting down the grove in Lucan, Valerius Maximum and Dio Cassius. *The Classical Quarterly* 56(2), 634–638.
- Avery, M. 1993. *Hillfort defences of southern Britain*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports British Series 231.
- Baillie, M. 1989a. Do Irish bog oaks date the Shang dynasty? *Current Archaeology* 10(117), 310–313.
- Baillie, M.G.L. 1989b. Hekla 3: how big was it? *Endeavour* 13(2), 78–81.
- Baillie, M.G.L. and M.A.R. Munro 1988. Irish tree rings, Santorini and volcanic dust veils. *Nature* 332(6162), 344–346.
- Baker, F. 1993. The Berlin Wall: production, preservation and consumption of a 20th century monument. *Antiquity* 67(257), 709–733.
- Balen-Letunić, D. 2014. An overview of prehistoric toys. *Etnološka Istraživanja (Ethnological Researches)* 18/19, 11–17.
- Bantjes, A.A. 2007. Making sense of iconoclasm: popular responses to the destruction of religious images in revolutionary Mexico, in S. Boldrick and R. Clay (eds.) *Iconoclasm. Contested objects, contested terms*, 169–188. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Barber, K. 1982. Peat-bog stratigraphy as a proxy climate record, in A.F. Harding (ed.) *Climatic change in later prehistory*, 103–113. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Barber, K. 1986. Peat macrofossil analyses as indicators of the bog palaeoenvironment and climate change, in I.M. Stead, J.B. Bourke and D. Brothwell (eds.) *Lindow Man. The man in the bog*, 86–89. London: British Museum Publications Ltd.
- Barber, K. 1995. Two views on peat stratigraphy and the age of the Lindow bodies. B: Peat stratigraphy and the Lindow bog body: a reconsideration of the evidence, in R.C. Turner and R.G. Scaife (eds.) *Bog bodies. New discoveries and new perspectives*, 50–51. London: British Museum Press.
- Barber, K., F.M. Chambers and D. Maddy 2002. Holocene palaeoclimates from peat stratigraphy: macrofossil proxy climate records from three oceanic raised bogs in England and Ireland. *Quaternary Science Reviews* 22(5), 521–539.
- Barber, K. and P. Langdon 2001. Peat stratigraphy and climate change, in D.R. Brothwell and A.M. Pollard (eds.) *Handbook of archaeological sciences*, 155–166. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.
- Barker, D.J. and M.J. Barker 2002. The body as art. *Journal of Cosmetic Dermatology* 1(2), 88–93.
- Barnes, M. 1972. Sverdnavn. *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder fra vikingetid til reformationstid* 17, 544–547. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger.
- Barrett, J. 1994. *Fragments from antiquity: an archaeology of social life in Britain, 2900–1200 BC*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Barrett, J. and S.P. Needham 1988. Production, circulation and exchange; problems in the interpretation of Bronze Age bronzework, in J. Barrett and I. Kinnes (eds.) *The archaeology of context in the Neolithic and Bronze Age: recent trends*, 127–140. Sheffield: Department of Archaeology and Prehistory.

- Beausang, E. 2000. Childbirth in prehistory: an introduction. *European Journal of Archaeology* 3(1), 69–87.
- Bell, M. 1996. Environment in the first millennium BC, in T.C. Champion and J.R. Collis (eds.) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland. Recent trends*, 5–16. Sheffield: J.R. Collis Publications, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield.
- Bell, T. and G. Lock 2000. Topographic and cultural influences on walking the Ridgeway in later prehistoric times, in G. Lock (ed.) *Beyond the map: archaeology and spatial technologies*, 85–100. Amsterdam: IOS Press.
- Belting, H. 2005. Image, medium, body: a new approach to iconology. *Critical Inquiry* 31(2), 302–319.
- Benefiel, R.R. 2010. Dialogues of ancient graffiti in the House of Maius Castricius in Pompeii. *American Journal of Archaeology* 114(1), 59–101.
- Bennett, K.D. 1983. Devensian late glacial and Flandrian vegetational history at Holkham Mere, Norfolk, England, 1. Pollen assemblages and concentrations. *New Phytologist* 95(3), 457–487.
- Bentley, R.A. 2006. Strontium isotopes from the earth to the archaeological skeleton: a review. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 13(3), 135–187.
- Bentley, R.A., T.D. Price, J. Lüning, D. Gronenborn, J. Wahl and P.D. Fullagar 2002. Prehistoric migration in Europe: strontium isotope analysis of early Neolithic skeletons. *Current Anthropology* 43(5), 799–804.
- Berglund, B.E. 2003. Human impact and climate changes – synchronous events and a causal link? *Quaternary International* 105(1), 7–12.
- Bergquist, A. and T. Taylor 1987. The origin of the Gundestrup cauldron. *Antiquity* 61(231), 10–24.
- Bevan, R. 2006. *The destruction of memory: architecture at war*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Bewley, R. 1994. *Prehistoric settlements*. London: Batsford Ltd./English Heritage.
- Bianchi, R.S. 1988. Tattoo in Ancient Egypt, in A. Rubin (ed.) *Marks of civilisation: artistic transformations of the human body*, 21–28. Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California.
- Bianucci, R., D. Brothwell, W. van der Sanden, C. Papageorgopoulou, P. Gostner, P. Pernter, E. Egarter-Vigl, F. Maixner, M. Janko, D. Piombino-Mascali, G. Mattutino, F. Rühli and A. Zink 2012. A possible case of dyschondrosteosis in a bog body from the Netherlands. *Journal of Archaeology in the Low Countries* 4(1), 37–64.
- Binford, L.R. 1964. A consideration of archaeological research design. *American Antiquity* 29(4), 425–441.
- Blackford, J. 2000. Palaeoclimatic records from peat bogs. *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* 15(5), 193–198.
- Boldrick, S. and R. Clay 2007. Introduction, in S. Boldrick and R. Clay (eds.) *Iconoclasm: contested objects, contested terms*, 1–14. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Boldrick, S., L. Brubaker and R. Clay (eds.) 2013. *Striking images, iconoclasm past and present*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Bond, D. 1988. *Excavation at the north ring, Mucking, Essex: a late Bronze Age enclosure*. Norfolk: East Anglian Archaeology.
- Bond, D. 1991. An excavation at Wall Camp, Kynnersley (settlement evidence within a defended Iron Age lowland enclosure), in M.O.H. Carver (ed.) *Prehistory in lowland Shropshire*, 98–105. Shrewsbury: Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society LXVII.

- Bond, G., B. Kromer, J. Beer, R. Muscheler, M.N. Evans, W. Showers, S. Hoffmann, R. Lotti-Bond, I. Hajdas and G. Bonani 2001. Persistent solar influence on North Atlantic climate during the Holocene. *Science* 294(5549), 2130–2136.
- Bowden, M.C.B. and D. McOmish 1987. The required barrier. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 4, 76–84.
- Bowden, M.C.B. and D. McOmish 1989. Little boxes: more about hillforts. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 6, 12–16.
- Boyle, A., T. Evans, S. O'Connor, A. Spence and M. Brennand 2007. Site D (Ferry Fryston) in the Iron Age and Romano-British periods, in F. Brown, C. Howard-Davis, M. Brennand, A. Boyle, T. Evans, S. O'Connor, A. Spence, R. Heawood and A. Lupton (eds.) *The archaeology of the A1(M) Darrington to Dishforth DBFO road scheme*, 121–159. Lancaster: Oxford Archaeology North.
- Bradley, R. 1971. Stock raising and the origins of hillforts on the South Downs. *Antiquaries Journal* 51(1), 8–29.
- Bradley, R. 1982. The destruction of wealth in later prehistory. *Man* 17(1), 108–122.
- Bradley, R. 1984. *The social foundations of prehistoric Britain: themes and variations in the archaeology of power*. Harlow: Longman.
- Bradley, R. 1988. Hoarding, recycling and the consumption of prehistoric metalwork: technological change in western Europe. *World Archaeology* 20(2), 249–260.
- Bradley, R. 1990. *The passage of arms. An archaeological analysis of prehistoric hoards and votive deposits*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bradley, R. 1993. *Altering the earth: the origins of monuments in Britain and continental Europe*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
- Bradley, R. 1998. *The significance of monuments. On the shaping of human experience in Neolithic and Bronze Age Europe*. Oxford and New York: Routledge.
- Bradley, R. 2002. *The past in prehistoric societies*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bradley, R. and K. Gordon 1988. Human skulls from the River Thames, their dating and significance. *Antiquity* 62(236), 503–509.
- Brailsford, J.W. 1971. The Sedgeford torc. *The British Museum Quarterly* April 1971, 16–19.
- Branch, N.P. and R.G. Scaife 1995. The stratigraphy and pollen analysis of peat sequences associated with the Lindow III bog body, in R.C. Turner and R.G. Scaife (eds.) *Bog bodies. New discoveries and new perspectives*, 19–30. London: British Museum Publications Ltd.
- Branigan, R. 1989. An early landscape revisited, in D. Kennedy (ed.) *Into the sun. Essays in air photography in archaeology in honour of Derrick Riley*, 161–166. Sheffield: Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield.
- Brennand, M. and Taylor, M. 2003: Bronze Age timber circle at Holme-next-the-Sea, Norfolk, 1998–9. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 69, 1–84.
- Brewster, T.C.M. 1971. The Garton Slack chariot burial, East Yorkshire. *Antiquity* 45(180), 289–292.
- Brilot, M. 2000. Les tatouages des momies de l'Altai. *L'Anthropologie* 104(3), 473–478.
- Brittain, M. and O. Harris 2010. Enchainning arguments and fragmenting assumptions: reconsidering the fragmentation debate in archaeology. *World Archaeology* 42(4), 581–594.
- Brothwell, D. and K. Dobney 1986. Studies on the hair and nails of Lindow Man and comparative specimens, in I.M. Stead, J.B. Bourke and D. Brothwell (eds.) *Lindow Man. The body in the bog*, 66–70. London: British Museum Publications Ltd.



- Brothwell, D., D. Liversage and B. Gottlieb 1990. Radiographic and forensic aspects of the female Huldremose body. *Journal of Danish Archaeology* 9(1), 157–178.
- Brothwell, D. and H. Gill-Robinson 2002. Taphonomic and forensic aspects of bog bodies, in W.D. Haglund and M.H. Sorg (eds.) *Taphonomy. Methods, theory and archaeological perspectives*, 119–132. London: CRC Press.
- Brown, A.G. 1999. Characterising prehistoric lowland environments using local pollen assemblages. *Quaternary Proceedings* 14(6), 585–594.
- Brown, I. 2009. *Beacons in the landscape. The hillforts of England and Wales*. Oxford: Windgather Press.
- Brubaker, L. 1999. The Chalke Gate, the construction of the past, and the Trier ivory. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 13(1), 258–285.
- Brubaker, L. 2006. The artisanal production of second iconoclasm, in M. Kaplan (ed.) *Monastères, images, pouvoirs et société à Byzance: nouvelles approches du monachisme byzantine*, 815–843. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.
- Brubaker, L. 2013. Making and breaking images and meaning in Byzantium and early Islam, in S. Boldrick, L. Brubaker and R. Clay (eds.) *Striking images, iconoclasm past and present*, 13–24. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Brubaker, L. and J. Haldon 2011. *Byzantium in the iconoclast era, c. 680–850. A history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brück, J. 1999a. Ritual and rationality: some problems of interpretation in European archaeology. *Journal of European Archaeology* 2(3), 313–344.
- Brück, J. 1999b. Houses, lifecycles and deposition on middle Bronze Age settlements in southern England. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 65, 1–22.
- Brück, J. 1999c. What's in a settlement? Domestic practices and residential mobility in early Bronze Age southern England, in J. Brück and M. Goodman (eds.) *Making places in the prehistoric world: themes in settlement archaeology*, 52–75. London: UCL Press.
- Brück, J. 2006. Fragmentation, personhood and the social construction of technology in middle and late Bronze Age Britain. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 16(3), 297–315.
- Brück, J. and M. Goodman 1999. Introduction: themes for a critical archaeology of prehistoric settlement, in J. Brück and M. Goodman (eds.) *Making places in the prehistoric world: themes in settlement archaeology*, 1–19. London: UCL Press.
- Brunaux, J.-L. 1986. *Les gaulois. Sanctuaires et rites*. Paris: Editions Errance.
- Brunaux, J.-L. 1996. *Les religions gauloises: rituels celtiques de la Gaule indépendante*. Paris: Editions Errance.
- Brunning, R. and C. McDermott 2013. Trackways and roads across the wetlands, in F. Menotti and A. O'Sullivan (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of wetland archaeology*, 359–384. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buchanan, A. 2007. 'Wyatt the destroyer': a vandal at Salisbury Cathedral, in S. Boldrick and R. Clay (eds.) *Iconoclasm. Contested objects, contested terms*, 123–143. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Buckland, P.C. 1995. Two views on peat stratigraphy and the age of the Lindow bodies. A: Peat stratigraphy and the age of the Lindow bodies, in R.C. Turner and R.G. Scaife (eds.) *Bog bodies. New discoveries and new perspectives*, 47–50. London: British Museum Press.
- Buckland, P.C., A.J. Dugmore and K.J. Edwards 1997. Bronze Age myths? Volcanic activity and human response in the Mediterranean and north Atlantic regions. *Antiquity* 71(273), 581–593.

- Buckland, P.C., M. Parker Pearson, A. Wigley and M.A. Girling 2001. Is there anybody out there? A reconsideration of the environmental evidence from the Breiddin Hillfort, Powys, Wales. *The Antiquaries Journal* 81, 51–76.
- Burgess, C. 1989. Volcanoes, catastrophe and the global crisis of the late second millennium BC. *Current Archaeology* 10(117), 325–329.
- Burmeister, S. 2013. Moorleichen – Sonderbestattung, Strafjustiz, Opfer? Annäherungen an eine kulturgeschichtliche Deutung, in N. Müller-Scheeßel (ed.) *'Irreguläre' Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte: Norm, Ritual, Strafe...?*, 485–506. Frankfurt: Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
- Burnham, C. P. 1990: Chalk and chalk debris as a medium for plant growth with particular reference to Channel Tunnel spoil. *Soil Use and Land Management* 6(3), 131–136.
- Burns, J.E. 1971. Additional torcs from Snettisham, Norfolk. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 37, 228–229.
- Burström, N.M. 2014. Things in the eye of the beholder: a humanistic perspective on archaeological object biographies. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 47(1), 65–82.
- Buteux, S. and H. Chapman 2009. *Where rivers meet. The archaeology of Catholme and the Trent-Tame confluence*. York: Council for British Archaeology research report 161.
- Cane, S. and J. Ashley-Smith 2013. Iconoclasm as conservation, concealment and subversion, in S. Boldrick, L. Brubaker and R. Clay (eds.) *Striking images, iconoclasm past and present*, 183–197. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Carr, G. 2005. Woad, tattooing and identity in later Iron Age and early Roman Britain. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24(3), 273–292.
- Carter, S. and F. Hunter 2003. An Iron Age chariot burial from Scotland. *Antiquity* 77(297), 531–535.
- Carter, S., F. Hunter and A. Smith 2010. A 5th century BC Iron Age chariot burial from Newbridge, Edinburgh. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 76, 31–74.
- Caseldine, C. and B. Gearey 2005. A multiproxy approach to reconstructing surface wetness changes and prehistoric bog bursts in a raised mire system at Derryville Bog, Co. Tipperary, Ireland. *The Holocene* 15(4), 585–601.
- Casparie, W.A. 2005. Opening up the peat bogs: the timber trackways of Drenthe, in L.P. Kooijmans, P.W. van den Broeke, H. Fokkens and A.L. van Gijn (eds.) *The prehistory of the Netherlands, vol. 1*, 401–406. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Chadwick, A. 1997. Towards a social archaeology of later prehistoric and Romano-British field systems in South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. *Assemblage 2* (<http://www.assemblage.group.shef.ac.uk/2/2chad.html>).
- Chadwick, A. and C.G. Cumberpatch 1995. Further work on the Iron Age and Romano-British landscape at Edenthorpe. *Archaeology in South Yorkshire 1994–1995*, 41–9. Sheffield: South Yorkshire Archaeology Service.
- Champion, T. 1994. Socio-economic development in eastern England in the first millennium BC, in K. Kristiansen and J. Jensen (eds.) *Europe in the first millennium BC*, 125–144. Sheffield: John Collis Publications.
- Chapman, H. 1997. The Humberhead Levels from the air: a landscape in context, in R. Van de Noort and S. Ellis (eds.) *Wetland heritage of the Humberhead Levels – an archaeological survey*, 397–407. Hull: Humber Wetlands Project, University of Hull.
- Chapman, H. 1998. The lower Trent and Ancholme valleys from the air: a landscape in context, in R. Van de Noort and S. Ellis (eds.) *Wetland heritage of the Ancholme and lower Trent valleys: an archaeological survey*, 248–262. Hull: Humber Wetlands Project, University of Hull.

- Chapman, H. 1999. The Vale of York from the air: a landscape in context, in R. Van de Noort and S. Ellis (eds.) *Wetland heritage of the Vale of York: an archaeological survey*, 243–253. Hull: Humber Wetlands Project, University of Hull.
- Chapman, H.P. 2000. Understanding wetland archaeological landscapes: GIS, environmental analysis and landscape reconstruction; pathways and narratives, in G. Lock (ed.) *Beyond the map. Archaeology and the spatial technologies*, 49–59. Amsterdam: IOS Press and Nato Scientific Affairs Division.
- Chapman, H. 2006. *Landscape archaeology and GIS*. Stroud: Tempus.
- Chapman, H. 2015. The landscape archaeology of bog bodies. *Journal of Wetland Archaeology* 15(1), 109–121.
- Chapman, H.P. and B.R. Gearey 2000. Palaeoecology and the perception of prehistoric landscapes: some comments on visual approaches to phenomenology. *Antiquity* 74(284), 316–319.
- Chapman, H.P. and B.R. Gearey 2004. The social context of seafaring in the Bronze Age revisited. *World Archaeology* 36(4), 452–458.
- Chapman, H.P. and M.C. Lille 2004. Investigating ‘Doggerland’ through analogy: the example of Holderness, East Yorkshire (UK), in N.C. Fleming (ed.) *Submarine prehistoric archaeology of the North Sea*, 65–69. York: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 141.
- Chapman, H. and B. Gearey 2013a. Iconoclasm in European prehistory? Breaking objects and landscapes, in S. Boldrick, L. Brubaker and R. Clay (eds.) *Striking images, iconoclasm past and present*, 25–37. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Chapman, H. and B. Gearey 2013b. *Modelling archaeology and palaeoenvironments in wetlands. The hidden landscape archaeology of Hatfield and Thorne Moors, eastern England*. Oxford: Oxbow books.
- Chapman, H.P., M. Hewson and M.S. Watters 2010. The Catholme ceremonial complex, Staffordshire, UK. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 76, 135–163.
- Chapman, H.P. and R. Van de Noort 2001. High-resolution wetland prospection, using GPS and GIS: landscape studies at Sutton Common (South Yorkshire) and Meare Village East (Somerset). *Journal of Archaeological Science* 28(4), 365–375.
- Chapman, J. 1996. Enchainment, commodification, and gender in the Balkan Copper Age. *European Journal of Archaeology* 4, 203–242.
- Chapman, J. 2000. *Fragmentation in archaeology: people, places, and broken objects in the prehistory of south-eastern Europe*. London: Routledge.
- Chapman, J. and B. Gaydarska 2007. *Parts and wholes: fragmentation in prehistoric context*. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Chapman, J. and B. Gaydarska, with K. Hardy 2006. Does enclosure make a difference? A view from the Balkans, in Harding, A., S. Sievers and N. Venclová (eds.) 2006. *Enclosing the past. Inside and outside in prehistory*, 20–43. Biggleswade: J.R. Collis Publications.
- Chester, D.K., A.M. Duncan and C.J.L. Dibben 2007. The importance of religion in shaping volcanic risk perception in Italy, with special reference to Vesuvius and Etna. *Journal of Volcanology and Geothermal Research* 172(3–4), 216–228.
- Chester, D.K., A.M. Duncan, J.E. Guest, P.A. Johnston and J.J.L. Smolenaars 2000. Human response to Etna volcano during the classical period, in W.G. McGuire, D.R. Griffiths, P.L. Hancock and I.S. Stewart (eds.) *The archaeology of geological catastrophes*, 179–188. London: The Geological Society of London.
- Clarke, R.R. and R.H.M. Dolley 1955. The early Iron Age treasure from Snettisham, Norfolk. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 20, 27–86.

- Clay, C. 2004. Iconoclasm in Roman Chester: the significance of the mutilated tombstones from the north wall. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 157(1), 1–16.
- Clay, R. 2007. Bouchardon's statue of Louis XV; iconoclasm and the transformation of signs, in S. Boldrick and R. Clay (eds.) *Iconoclasm. Contested objects, contested terms*, 93–122. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Clay, R. 2012a. *Iconoclasm in revolutionary Paris. The transformation of signs*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation.
- Clay, R. 2012b. Smells, bells and touch: iconoclasm in Paris during the French Revolution. *Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies* 35(4), 521–533.
- Coles, B. 1990. Anthropomorphic wooden figures from Britain and Ireland. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 56, 315–333.
- Coles, B. and J.M. Coles 1989. *People of the wetlands: bogs, bodies and lake-dwellers*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Coles, J. 1973. *Archaeology by experiment*. London: Hutchinson University Library.
- Collinson, P. 1986. *From iconoclasm to iconophobia: the cultural impact of the second English Reformation*. Reading: University of Reading.
- Collis, J. 1984. *The European Iron Age*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Collis, J. 1996. Hill-forts, enclosures and boundaries, in T.C. Champion and J.R. Collis (eds.) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland. Recent trends*, 87–94. Sheffield: J.R. Collis Publications, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield.
- Collis, J. 2014. Urbanisation in temperate Europe in the Iron Age: Mediterranean influence or indigenous? in M. Fernández-Götz, H. Wendling and K. Winger (eds.) *Paths to complexity. Centralisation and urbanisation in Iron Age Europe*, 15–22. Oxford and Philadelphia, PA: Oxbow Books.
- Conlee, J. (ed.) 1998. *Prose Merlin*. Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, University of Rochester.
- Connolly, R.C. 1985. Lindow Man; Britain's prehistoric bog body. *Anthropology Today* 1(5), 15–17.
- Coombes, P. and K. Barber 2005. Environmental determinism in Holocene research: causality or coincidence. *Area* 37(3), 303–311.
- Coombs, D. 1992. Flag Fen platform and Fengate Power Station post alignment – the metalwork. *Antiquity* 66(251), 504–517.
- Coppack, G. 2006. *Abbeys and priories*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd.
- Cosgrove, D. 1989. Geography is everywhere: culture and symbolism in human landscapes, in D. Gregory and R. Walford (eds.) *Horizons in human geography*, 118–135. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Cowell, M. R. and P.T. Craddock 1995. Addendum: copper in the skin of Lindow Man, in R.C. Turner and R.G. Scaife (eds.) *Bog bodies. New discoveries and new perspectives*, 74–75. London: British Museum Press.
- Craig, C.R., C.J. Knüsel and G.C. Carr 2005. Fragmentation, mutilation and dismemberment: an interpretation of human remains on Iron Age sites, in M. Parker Pearson and I.J.N. Thorpe (eds.) *Warfare, violence and slavery in prehistory*, 165–180. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports (International Series) 1374.
- Crawford, O.G.S. 1929. The Giant of Cerne and other hill-figures. *Antiquity* 3(11), 277–282.
- Creighton, J. 2000. *Coins and power in late Iron Age Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Croes, D.R. 2001. Birth to death: northwest coast wet site basketry and cordage artefacts reflecting a person's life cycle, in B. Purdy (ed.) *Enduring records. The environmental and cultural heritage of wetlands*, 92–109. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

- Cromarty, A.M., D. Miles, S. Palmer and R. Bailey 2003. Documentary evidence, work of antiquaries and previous investigations, in D. Miles, S. Palmer, G. Lock, C. Gosden and A.M. Cromarty (eds.) *Uffington White Horse and its landscape: investigations at White Horse Hill, Uffington, 1989–95, and Tower Hill, Ashbury, 1993–4*, 15–27. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph No. 18.
- Cross May, S., C. Murphy, J. Ó'Néill and P. Stevens 2005. Chronology, in M. Gowen, J. Ó'Néill and M. Phillips (eds.) *The Lisheen Mine archaeological project 1996–8*, 55–78. Bray: Wordwell Ltd.
- Croxford, B. 2003. Iconoclasm in Roman Britain? *Britannia* 34, 81–95.
- Cumberpatch, C.G. 1993. Excavations at Pickburn Leys, Adwick-le-Street, Doncaster (SE 534 067). *Archaeology in South Yorkshire 1992–1993*, 36–42. Sheffield: South Yorkshire Archaeology Service.
- Cummings, B. 2002. Iconoclasm and bibliophobia in the English Reformations, 1521–1558, in J. Dimmick, J. Simpson and N. Zeeman (eds.) *Images, idolatry, and iconoclasm in late medieval England: textuality and the visual image*, 185–206. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cunliffe, B. 1990. Before hillforts. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 9(3), 323–336.
- Cunliffe, B. 1992. Pits, preconceptions, and propitiation in the British Iron Age. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 11(1), 69–83.
- Cunliffe, B. 1993. *Danebury*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd. and English Heritage.
- Cunliffe, B. 1994. After hillforts. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 13(1), 71–84.
- Cunliffe, B. 1995. *Iron Age Britain*. London: B.T. Batsford.
- Cunliffe, B. 2003. *Danebury hillfort*. Stroud: The History Press.
- Cunliffe, B. 2005. *Iron Age communities in Britain. An account of England, Scotland and Wales from the seventh century BC until the Roman conquest* (4th edition). London and New York: Routledge.
- Cunliffe, B. 2011. *Danebury hillfort* (3rd edition). Stroud: The History Press.
- Cunliffe, B. and C. Poole 1991. *Danebury. An Iron Age hillfort in Hampshire. Vol. 4 The excavations 1979–1988: the site*. London: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 73.
- Damon, C. (trans.) 2012. *Tacitus. Annals*. London: Penguin Books.
- Dark, P. 2006. Climatic deterioration and land-use change in the first millennium BC: perspectives from the British palynological record. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33(10), 1381–1395.
- Darnton, R. 2007. The devil in the holy water: political libel in eighteenth-century France. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 151, 387–422.
- Darvill, T. and G. Wainwright 2002. SPACES – exploring Neolithic landscapes in the Strumble-Preseli area of southwest Wales. *Antiquity* 76(293), 623–624.
- Davies, J.L. and F. Lynch 2000. The late Bronze Age and Iron Age, in F. Lynch, S. Aldhouse-Green and J.L. Davies (eds.) *Prehistoric Wales*, 139–219. Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd.
- Davies, P., J.G. Robb and D. Ladbrook 2005. Woodland clearance in the Mesolithic: the social aspects. *Antiquity* 79(304), 280–288.
- Davis, F. 1994. *Fashion, culture, and identity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- De Vleeschouwer, F., Le Roux, G. and Shotyk, W., 2010. Peat as an archive of atmospheric pollution and environmental change: A case study of lead in Europe. *PAGES Magazine*, 18(1), 20–22.
- Dent, J.S. 1983. Weapons, wounds and war in the Iron Age. *Archaeological Journal* 140(1), 120–128.

- Dent, J.S. 1985. Three cart burials from Wetwang, Yorkshire. *Antiquity* 59(226), 85–92.
- Diepeveen-Jansen, M. 2001. *People, ideas and goods. New perspectives on 'Celtic barbarians' in western and central Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 7.
- Dimbleby, G.W. 1969. Report on the pollen analysis, in N. Piercy-Fox, 'Caesar's Camp Keston'. *Archaeologia Cantiana* 84, 196–199.
- Dimbleby, G.W. 1970. Pollen analysis, in N. Piercy-Fox, 'Excavation of an Iron Age camp at Squerries, Westerham'. *Archaeologia Cantiana* 85, 32–33.
- Dizdar, M. 2011. The La Tène culture in central Croatia. The problem of the eastern border of the Taurisci in the Podravina region, in M. Guštin and M. Jevtić (eds.) *The eastern Celts. The communities between the Alps and the Black Sea*, 71–90. Koper: University of Primorska.
- Dorfer, L., M. Moser, K. Spindler, F. Bahr, E. Egarter-Vigl and G. Dohr 1998. 5200-year-old acupuncture in central Europe? *Science* 282(5387), 239.
- Drewett, P. and S. Hamilton 1999. Marking time and making space: excavations and landscape studies at the Caburn hillfort: East Sussex 1996–98. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 137, 7–38.
- Drissen, J. and C.F. MacDonald 2000. The eruption of the Santorini volcano and its effects on Minoan Crete, in W. McGuire, D.R. Griffiths, P.L. Hancock and I.S. Stewart (eds.) *The archaeology of geological catastrophes*, 81–93. London: Geological Society Special Publications 171.
- Dumayne, L. 1993. Iron Age and Roman vegetation clearance in northern Britain: further evidence. *Botanical Journal of Scotland* 46(3), 385–392.
- Dumayne-Peaty, L. 1998. Human impact on the environment during the Iron Age and Romano-British times: palynological evidence from three sites near the Antonine Wall, Great Britain. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 25(3), 203–214.
- Dyson, S.L. 1970. Caepio, Tacitus and Lucan's sacred grove. *Classical Philology* 65(1), 36–38.
- Elsner, J. 2012. Iconoclasm as discourse: from Antiquity to Byzantium. *The Art Bulletin* 94(3), 368–394.
- Emery, A. 2006. *Greater medieval houses of England and Wales 1300–1500. Volume III southern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Engelhardt, C. 1866. *Denmark in the early Iron Age*. London: Williams and Norgate.
- Evans, J.A., C.A. Chenery and A.P. Fitzpatrick 2006. Bronze Age childhood migrations of individuals near Stonehenge, revealed by strontium and oxygen isotope tooth enamel analysis. *Archaeometry* 48(2), 309–321.
- Evans-Pritchard, D. 1993. Ancient art in modern context. *Annals of Tourism Research* 20(1), 9–31.
- Fahmy, S. 2007. 'They took it down': exploring determinants of visual reporting in the toppling of the Saddam statue in national and international newspapers. *Mass Communication and Society* 10(2), 143–170.
- Falah, G. 1996. The 1948 Israeli-Palestinian War and its aftermath: the transformation and de-signification of Palestine's cultural landscape. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86(2), 257–258.
- Farley, J., K. Parfitt, A. Richardson, D. Antoine, R. Pope and C. Sparey-Green 2014. A late Iron Age helmet burial from Bridge, near Canterbury, Kent. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 80, 379–388.
- Fenner, M. 1970. A comparison of the abilities of colonizers and closed turf species to establish from seed in artificial swards. *Journal of Ecology* 66, 953–963.



- Fenwick, H., H. Chapman, R. Head and M. Lillie 1998. The archaeological survey of the lower Trent valley and Winterton Beck, in R. Van de Noort and S. Ellis (eds.) *Wetland heritage of the Ancholme and lower Trent valleys: an archaeological survey*, 142–197. Hull: Humber Wetlands Project and English Heritage.
- Fenwick, H., H. Chapman, W. Fletcher, G. Thomas and M. Lillie 2001. The archaeological survey of the Lincolnshire Marsh, in S. Ellis, H. Fenwick, M. Lillie and R. Van de Noort (eds.) *Wetland heritage of the Lincolnshire Marsh: an archaeological survey*, 99–202. Hull: Humber Wetlands Project and English Heritage.
- Fernández-Götz, M. 2014. Reassessing the *oppida*: the role of power and religion. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 33(4), 379–394.
- Fernández-Götz, M., H. Wendling and K. Winger 2014. New perspectives on Iron Age urbanisation, in M. Fernández-Götz, H. Wendling and K. Winger (eds.) *Paths to complexity. Centralisation and urbanisation in Iron Age Europe*, 2–14. Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books.
- Field, N. and M. Parker Pearson 2003. *Fiskerton. An Iron Age timber causeway with Iron Age and Roman votive offerings: the 1981 excavations*. Oxford: Oxbow books.
- Fischer, C. 1998. Bog bodies of Denmark and northwestern Europe, in A. Cockburn, E. Cockburn and T.A. Reyman (eds.) *Mummies, disease and ancient cultures* (2nd edition), 237–262. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fischer, C. 2012. *Tollund Man. Gift to the gods*. Stroud: The History Press.
- Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1984. The deposition of La Tène Iron Age metalwork in watery contexts in southern England, in B. Cunliffe and D. Miles (eds.) *Aspects of the Iron Age in central southern Britain*, 178–190. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1992. The Snettisham, Norfolk, hoards of Iron Age torques: sacred or profane? *Antiquity* 66(251), 395–398.
- Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1996. Night and day: the symbolism of astral signs on later Iron Age anthropomorphic short swords. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 62, 373–398.
- Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1997. *Archaeological excavations on the route of the A27 Westhampnett Bypass, West Sussex, 1992. Volume 2: the cemeteries*. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology.
- Fitzpatrick, A.P. and M. Schönfelder 2014. Ascot hats: an Iron Age leaf crown helmet from Fiskerton, Lincolnshire?, in C. Gosden, S. Crawford and K. Ulmschneider (eds.) *Celtic art in Europe. Making Connections. Essays in honour of Vincent Megaw on his 80th birthday*, 286–296. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Fleming, A. 1978. The prehistoric landscape of Dartmoor, part 1, south Dartmoor. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 44, 97–124.
- Fleming, A. 1983. The prehistoric landscape of Dartmoor, part 2, north and east Dartmoor. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 49, 195–241.
- Fleming, A. 1987. Co-axial field systems: some questions of time and place. *Antiquity* 61(232), 188–202.
- Fleming, A. 1988. *The Dartmoor Reaves: investigating prehistoric land divisions*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd.
- Fleming, A. 1994. The reaves reviewed, in F.M. Griffiths (ed.) *The archaeology of Dartmoor: perspectives from the 1990s*, 63–74. Exeter: Devon Archaeological Society.
- Flood, F.B. 2002. Between cult and culture: Bamiyan, Islamic iconoclasm and the museum. *The Art Bulletin* 84(4), 641–659.
- Flower, H.I. 1998. Rethinking ‘*dammatio memoriae*’: the case of Cn. Calpurnius Piso Pater in AD20. *Classical Antiquity* 17(2), 155–187.
- Flower, H.I. 2001. A tale of two monuments: Domitian, Trajan and some Praetorians at Puteoli. *American Journal of Archaeology* 105(4), 625–648.



- Flower, H.I. 2006. *The art of forgetting: disgrace and oblivion in Roman political culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Foucault, M. 1977. *Discipline and punish. The birth of the prison* (translated by Alan Sheridan). London: Penguin.
- Fox, C. 1947. *A find of the early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey, 1946/7*. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales.
- Freedberg, D. 1985. *Iconoclasts and their motives*. Montclair: Maarsen.
- Freedberg, D. 2003. *Damnatio memoriae: why mobs pull down statues*. *Wall Street Journal* 16 April, D10.
- Freire, J. 2005. Weaponry, statues and petroglyphs: the ideology of war in Atlantic Iron Age Iberia, in M. Parker Pearson and I.J.N. Thorpe (eds.) *Warfare, violence and slavery in prehistory*, 195–200. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports (International Series) 1374.
- Fyfe, R.M., J. Brück, R. Johnson, H. Lewis, T.P. Roland and H. Wickstead 2008. Historical context and chronology of Bronze Age land enclosure on Dartmoor, UK. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35(8), 2250–2261.
- Fyfe, R.M., C. Twiddle, S. Sugita, M.-J. Gaillard, P. Barratt, C.J. Caseldine, J. Dodson, K.J. Edwards, M. Farrell, C. Froyd, M.J. Grant, E. Huckerby, J.B. Innes, H. Shaw and M. Waller 2013. The Holocene vegetation cover of Britain and Ireland: overcoming problems of scale and discerning patterns of openness. *Quaternary Science Reviews* 73, 132–148.
- Gaddis, M. 2005. *There is no crime for those who have no Christ. Religious violence in the Christian Roman Empire*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Gamboni, D. 1997. *The destruction of art: iconoclasm and vandalism since the French Revolution*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Garrow, D., C. Gosden, J.D. Hill and C. Bronk Ramsey 2009. Dating Celtic art: a major radiocarbon dating programme of Iron Age and early Roman metalwork in Britain. *Archaeological Journal* 166(1), 79–123.
- Garwood, P. 1991. Ritual tradition and the reconstruction of society, in P. Garwood, D. Jennings, R. Skeates and J. Toms (eds.) *Sacred and profane: proceedings of a conference on archaeology, ritual and religion, Oxford, 1989*, 10–32. Oxford: Oxford Committee for Archaeology Monograph 32.
- Gaspari, A., R. Masaryk and M. Novšák 2014. The shield boss from Emona (Ljubljana): Celtic weaponry in an Early Roman context. *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 46(1), 57–87.
- Gearey, B.R. 2007. Palynology, in R. Van de Noort, H. Chapman and J. Collis (eds.) *Sutton Common. The excavation of an Iron Age 'marsh-fort'*, 58–64. York: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 154.
- Gearey, B.R. and H.P. Chapman 2006. 'Digital gardening': an approach to simulating elements of palaeovegetation and some implications for the interpretation of prehistoric sites and landscapes, in T.L. Evans and P. Daly (eds.) *Digital Archaeology – bridging method and theory*, 171–190. Oxford: Routledge.
- Gearey, B.R., D.J. Charman and M. Kent 2000a. Palaeoecological evidence for the prehistoric settlement of Bodmin Moor, Cornwall, southwest England. Part I: the status of woodland and early human impacts. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 27(5), 423–438.
- Gearey, B.R., D.J. Charman and M. Kent 2000b. Palaeoecological evidence for the prehistoric settlement of Bodmin Moor, Cornwall, southwest England. Part II: land use changes from the Neolithic to the present. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 27(5), 493–508.

- Gearey, B.R., P. Marshall and D. Hamilton 2009. Correlating archaeological and palaeoenvironmental records using a Bayesian approach: a case study from Sutton Common, South Yorkshire, England. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36(7), 1477–1487.
- Gearey, B.R., H. Chapman and A.J. Howard 2016. *Down by the river. Archaeological, palaeoenvironmental and geoarchaeological investigations of the Suffolk river valleys*. Oxford and Philadelphia, PA: Oxbow Books.
- Gearey, B.R., H.P. Chapman, A.J. Howard, K. Krawiec, M. Bamforth, W.G. Fletcher, T.C.B. Hill, P. Marshall, E. Tetlow and I. Tyers 2011. The Beccles Triple Post-Alignment, Beccles Marshes, Suffolk: Excavation and Palaeoenvironmental Analyses of an Iron Age wetland site. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 77, 231–250.
- Gell, A. 1992. The technology of enchantment and the enchantment of technology, in J. Coote and A. Shelton (eds.) *Anthropology, art and aesthetics*, 40–67. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gell, A. 1993. *Wrapping in images: tattooing in Polynesia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Giles, K. 2007. Seeing and believing: visibility and space in pre-modern England. *World Archaeology* 39(1), 105–121.
- Giles, M. 2008. Seeing red: the aesthetics of martial objects in the British and Irish Iron Age, in D. Garrow, C. Gosden and J.D. Hill (eds.) *Rethinking Celtic art*, 59–77. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Giles, M. 2012. *A forged glamour. Landscape, identity and material culture in the Iron Age*. Oxford: Windgather Press (Oxbow).
- Giles, M. 2015. Performing pain, performing beauty: dealing with difficult death in the Iron Age. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 25(3), 539–550.
- Gill-Frerkling, H. 2014. The impact of historical post-excavation modifications on the re-examination of human mummies. *Papers on Anthropology* 23(1), 63–75.
- Gillings, M. and J. Pollard 1999. Non-portable stone artefacts and contexts of meaning: the tale of Grey Wether ([www.museums.ncl.ac.uk/Avebury/stone4.htm](http://www.museums.ncl.ac.uk/Avebury/stone4.htm)). *World Archaeology* 31(2), 179–193.
- Gill-Robinson, H.C. 2005. *The Iron Age bog bodies of the Archaeologisches Landesmuseum, Scholss Gottorf, Schleswig, Germany*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
- Gingell, C. 1992. *The Marlborough Downs: a later Bronze Age landscape and its origins*. Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeology and Natural History Society Monograph 1.
- Glob, P.V. 1974. *The mound people. Danish Bronze-Age man preserved* (translated by J. Bulman). London: Faber and Faber Ltd.
- Glob, P.V. 1998. *The bog people. Iron-Age man preserved* (translated by R. Bruce-Mitford). London: Faber and Faber.
- González Zarandona, J.A. 2015. Towards a theory of landscape iconoclasm. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 25(2), 461–475.
- Gosden, C. 2005. What do objects want? *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 12(3), 193–211.
- Gosden, C. and L. Head 1994. Landscape – a usefully ambiguous concept. *Archaeology in Oceania* 29(3), 113–116.
- Gosden, C. and Y. Marshall 1999. The cultural biography of objects. *World Archaeology* 31(2), 169–178.
- Gosden, C. and G. Lock 2003. The linear ditch, the Ridgeway and the enclosure, in D. Miles, S. Palmer, G. Lock, C. Gosden and A.M. Cromarty (eds.) *Uffington White Horse and its landscape: investigations at White Horse Hill, Uffington, 1989–95, and*

- Tower Hill, Ashbury, 1993–4*, 127–135. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph No. 18.
- Gosden, C. and L. Malafouris 2015. Process archaeology (P-Arch). *World Archaeology* 47(5), 701–717.
- Gowen, M., J. Ó'Néill and M. Phillips (eds.) 2005. *The Lisheen Mine archaeological project 1996–8*, 55–78. Bray: Wordwell Ltd.
- Gowlett, J.A.J., R.E.M. Hedge and I.A. Law 1989. Radiocarbon accelerator (AMS) dating of Lindow Man. *Antiquity* 63(238), 71–79.
- Grabar, A. 1968. *Christian iconography*. Princetown: Princetown University Press.
- Grady, D.M. 1998. Medieval and post-medieval salt extraction in north-east Lincolnshire, in R.H. Bewley (ed.) *Lincolnshire's archaeology from the air*, 81–95. Lincoln: The Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology and The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.
- Grant, M.J., M.P. Waller and J.A. Groves 2011. The *Tilia* decline: vegetation change in lowland Britain during the mid and late Holocene. *Quaternary Science Reviews* 30(3), 394–408.
- Grant, S.M. 1904. Ancient pottery kilns. *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries* 8, 33–38.
- Graves, P. 2008. From an archaeology of iconoclasm to an anthropology of the body: images, punishment and personhood in England, 1500–1660. *Current Anthropology* 49(1), 35–60.
- Graves, R. (trans.) 1956. *Lucan Pharsalia. Dramatic episodes of the civil wars*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Green, C.M.C. 2007. *Roman religion and the cult of Diana at Aricia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Green, M. 1998. Humans as ritual victims in the later prehistory of western Europe. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 17(2), 169–189.
- Green, M.J. 2005. *Exploring the world of the druids*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Greene, G. 1992. *Twenty-one stories*. London: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Greenwell, W. 1877. *British barrows. A record of the examination of sepulchral mounds in various parts of England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Greenwell, W. 1906. XI. Early Iron Age burials in Yorkshire. *Archaeologia* 60(1), 251–324.
- Gregersen, M., A. G. Jurik and N. Lynnerup 2007. Forensic evidence, injuries and cause of death, in P. Asingh and N. Lynnerup (eds.) *Grauballe Man. An Iron Age bog body revisited*, 234–258. Højbjerg: Jutland Archaeological Society.
- Gregory, C.A. 1980. Gifts to men and gifts to gods: gift exchange and capital accumulation in contemporary Papua. *Man* 15(4), 626–652.
- Gregory, T. 1991. *Excavations in Thetford 1980–82, Fison Way (volume 1)*. Dereham: East Anglian Archaeology 53.
- Grierson, P., C. Mango and I. Ševčenko 1962. The tombs and obits of the Byzantine emperors (337–1042); with an additional note. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16, 1–63.
- Grimes, W.F. 1948. A prehistoric temple at London Airport. *Archaeology* 1(2), 74–78.
- Grimes, W.F., J. Close-Brooks, J. Cotton, J. May and D.F. Williams 1993. The excavation of Caesar's Camp, Heathrow, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1944. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 59, 303–360.
- Grinsell, L.V. 1939. *White Horse Hill and the surrounding country*. London: Saint Catherine Press.
- Grinsell, L.V. 1961. The breaking of objects as a funerary rite. *Folklore* 72(3), 475–491.
- Grinsell, L.V. 1973. The breaking of objects as a funerary rite: supplementary notes. *Folklore* 84(2), 111–114.

- Grinsell, L.V. 1986. The Christianisation of prehistoric and other pagan sites. *Landscape History* 8(1), 27–37.
- Grupe, G., T.D. Price, P. Schröter, F. Söllner, C.M. Johnson and B.L. Beard 1997. Mobility of Bell Beaker people revealed by strontium isotope ratios of tooth and bone: a study of southern Bavarian skeletal remains. *Applied Geochemistry* 12(4), 517–525.
- Guštin, M. 2014. The human masks of unknown provenience, in C. Gosden, S. Crawford and K. Ulmschneider (eds.) *Celtic art in Europe. Making Connections. Essays in honour of Vincent Megaw on his 80th birthday*, 68–72. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Gwilt, A. and D. Heslop 1995. Iron Age and Roman querns from the Tees valley, in B. Vyner (ed.) *Moorland monuments: studies in the archaeology of north-east Yorkshire, in honour of Raymond Hayes and Don Spratt*, 38–45. New York: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 101.
- Halcrow, S.E. and N. Tayles 2008. The bioarchaeological investigation of childhood and social age: problems and prospects. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 15(2), 190–215.
- Haldon, J. and B. Ward-Perkings 1999. Evidence from Rome for the image of Christ on the Chalke gate in Constantinople. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 23(1), 286–296.
- Halkon, P. 2008. *Archaeology and environment in a changing East Yorkshire landscape. The Foulness valley 800BC to c. AD400*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 472.
- Hamilton, S. 1998. Using elderly databases: Iron Age pit deposits at the Caburn, East Sussex, and related sites. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 136, 23–39.
- Hamilton, S. and J. Manley 2001. Hillforts, monumentality and place: a chronological and topographic review of first millennium bc hillforts of south-east England. *European Journal of Archaeology* 4(1), 7–42.
- Hammer, C.U., H.B. Clausen and W. Dansgaard 1980. Greenland ice sheet evidence of post-glacial volcanism and its climatic impact. *Nature* 288(5788), 230–235.
- Handford, S.A. (trans.) 1982. *Caesar. The conquest of Gaul*. London: Penguin Press.
- Harding, A. 2006. Enclosing and excluding in Bronze Age Europe, in Harding, A., S. Sievers and N. Venclová (eds.) *Enclosing the past. Inside and outside in prehistory*, 97–115. Sheffield: Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 15, J.R. Collis Publications.
- Harding, A., S. Sievers and N. Venclová (eds.) 2006a. *Enclosing the past. Inside and outside in prehistory*. Sheffield: Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 15, J.R. Collis Publications.
- Harding, A., S. Sievers and N. Venclová 2006b. Introduction, in A. Harding, S. Sievers and N. Venclová (eds.) *Enclosing the past: inside and outside in prehistory*, ix–x. Sheffield: Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 15, J.R. Collis Publications.
- Harding, D.W. 2012. *Iron Age hillforts in Britain and beyond*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harmanşah, Ö. 2015. ISIS, heritage, and the spectacles of destruction in the global media. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 78(3), 170–177.
- Harrison, R. 2009. The politics of heritage, in R. Harrison (ed.) *Understanding the politics of heritage*, 154–196. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Haughey, F. 2013. Rivers and lakes. A network of wetland highways, in F. Menotti and A. O'Sullivan (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of wetland archaeology*, 385–397. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hawkes, C.F.E. 1939. Excavations at Quarley Hill, 1938. *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club* 14, 136–194.

- Hayen, H. 1987. Peatbog archaeology in Lower Saxony, West Germany, in J.M. Coles and A.J. Lawson (eds.) *European wetlands in prehistory*, 117–136. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hayes, R.H., J.E. Hemingway and D.A. Spratt 1980. The distribution and lithology of beehive querns in N.E. Yorkshire. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 7(4), 297–334.
- Hazzledine-Warren, S. 1932. Prehistoric timber structures associated with a briquetage site in Lincolnshire. *The Antiquaries Journal* 12(3), 254–256.
- Heaney, S. (trans.) 2000. *Beowulf*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Hedrick, C. 2000. *History and silence. Purge and rehabilitation of memory in Late Antiquity*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Heinemeier, J. and P. Asingh 2007. Dating of Grauballe Man, in P. Asingh and N. Lynnerup (eds.) *Grauballe Man. An Iron Age bog body revisited*, 196–201. Moesgaard: Moesgaard Museum, Jutland Archaeological Society.
- Helms, M.W. 1993. *Craft and the kingly ideal. Art, trade and power*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Hertz, R. 1960. A contribution to the study of the collective representation of death, in R. Needham and C. Needham (eds.) *Death and the right hand*, 27–86. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- Hey, G., A. Bayliss and A. Boyle 1999. Iron Age inhumations at Yarnton, Oxfordshire. *Antiquity* 73(281), 551–562.
- Hill, J.D. 1992. Can we recognise a different European past? A contrastive archaeology of later prehistoric settlements in southern England. *Journal of European Archaeology* 1(1), 57–75.
- Hill, J.D. 1995a. *Ritual and rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex. A study on the formation of a specific archaeological record*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 242.
- Hill, J.D. 1995b. How should we understand Iron Age societies and hillforts? A contextual study from southern Britain, in J.D. Hill and C.G. Cumberpatch (eds.) *Different Iron Ages. Studies on the Iron Age in temperate Europe*, 45–66. Oxford: BAR International Series 602.
- Hill, J.D. 1996. Hill-forts and the Iron Age of Wessex, in T.C. Champion and J.R. Collis (eds.) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: recent trends*, 95–116. Sheffield: J.R. Collis Publications, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield.
- Hill, J.D. 1997. The end of one kind of body and the beginning of another kind of body? Toilet instruments and ‘Romanization’ in southern England during the first century AD, in A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds.) *Reconstructing Iron Age societies. New approaches to the British Iron Age*, 96–107. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Hill, J.D. 2002. Wetwang chariot burial. *Current Archaeology* 15(178), 410–412.
- Hiller von Gaertringen, H.G. 2007. Sturm auf das Stadtbild: on the treatment of Wilhelminian architectural decoration in the twentieth century, in S. Boldrick and R. Clay (eds.) *Iconoclasm. Contested objects, contested terms*, 215–240. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Hillman, G. 1986. Plant foods in ancient diet: the archaeological role of palaeofaeces in general and Lindow Man’s gut contents in particular, in I.M. Stead, J.B. Bourke and D. Brothwell (eds.) *Lindow Man. The body in the bog*, 99–115. London: British Museum Publications Ltd.
- Hingley, R. 1990a. Iron Age ‘currency bars’: the archaeological and social context. *The Archaeological Journal* 147(1), 91–117.
- Hingley, R. 1990b. Boundaries surrounding Iron Age and Romano-British settlements. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 7, 96–103.

- Hodder, I. and S. Hutson 2003. Reading the past. *Current approaches to interpretation in archaeology* (3rd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hogg, A.H.A. 1962. Garn Boduan and Tre'r Ceiri, excavations at two Caernarvonshire hill-forts. *Archaeological Journal* 117(1), 1–39.
- Hollander, A. 1993. *Seeing through clothes*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Holtorf, C. 1998. The life-histories of megaliths in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Germany). *World Archaeology* 30(1), 23–38.
- Holtorf, C. 2002. Notes on the life history of a pot sherd. *Journal of Material Culture* 7(1), 49–71.
- Holtorf, C. 2005. Iconoclasm. The destruction and loss of heritage reconsidered, in G. Coulter-Smith and M. Owen (eds.) *Art in the age of terrorism*, 228–240. London: Paul Holberton.
- Holtorf, C. 2006. Can less be more? Heritage in the age of terrorism. *Public Archaeology* 5(2), 101–109.
- Hooke, D. 1987. Anglo-Saxon estates in the Vale of the White Horse. *Oxoniensia* 52, 129–143.
- Horváth, L. and P. Gergely Németh 2011. Celtic warriors from Szabadi (Somogy County, Hungary), in M. Guštin and M. Jevtić (eds.) *The eastern Celts. The communities between the Alps and the Black Sea*, 20–30. Koper: University of Primorska.
- Housley, R.A., A.J. Walker, R.L. Otlet and R.E.M. Hedges 1995. Radiocarbon dating of the Lindow III bog body, in R.C. Turner and R.G. Scaife (eds.) *Bog bodies. New discoveries and new perspectives*, 39–46. London: British Museum Press.
- Hughes, G. 1996. Old Oswestry hillfort: excavations by W.J. Varley 1939–40. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 143, 46–91.
- Hughes, P.D.M., D. Mauquoy, K.E. Barber and P.G. Langdon 2000. Mire-development pathways and palaeoclimatic records from a full Holocene peat archive at Walton Moss, Cumbria, England. *The Holocene* 10(4), 465–479.
- Hughes, T. 1859: *The scouring the White Horse; or, the long vacation ramble of a London clerk*. Boston, MA: Ticknor and Fields.
- Hunter, M. 2007. Iconoclasm and consumption; or, household management according to Thomas Cromwell, in S. Boldrick and R. Clay (eds.) *Iconoclasm. Contested objects, contested terms*, 51–73. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Huntingford, G.W.B. 1920. On the date of the White Horse. *Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire Archaeological Journal* 26, 19–20.
- Huntley, B. and H.J.B. Birks 1983. *An atlas of past and present pollen maps for Europe: 0–13,000 years ago*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hurcombe, L. 2007. *Archaeological artefacts as material culture*. London: Routledge.
- Idzera, S.J. 1954. Iconoclasm during the French Revolution. *The American Historical Review* 60(1), 13–26.
- Ingold, T. 2000. *The perception of the environment*. London: Routledge.
- Ingold, T. 2011. *Being alive: essays on movement, knowledge and description*. London: Routledge.
- Ingold, T. 2013. *Making*. London: Routledge.
- Ingram, C. 2003. Animal bone, in D. Miles, S. Palmer, G. Lock, C. Gosden and A.M. Cromarty (eds.) *Uffington White Horse and its landscape: investigations at White Horse Hill, Uffington, 1989–95, and Tower Hill, Ashbury, 1993–4*, 187–191. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph No. 18.
- Jacobs, I. 2010. Production to destruction? Pagan and mythological statuary in Asia Minor. *American Journal of Archaeology* 114(2), 267–303.



- James, B. 1999. Fencing in the past: Budapest's Statue Park museum. *Media, Culture and Society* 21(3), 291–311.
- Jay, M., C. Haselgrove, D. Hamilton, J.D. Hill and J. Dent 2012. Chariots and context: new radiocarbon dates from Wetwang and the chronology of Iron Age burials and brooches in East Yorkshire. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 31(2), 161–189.
- Jay, M., J. Montgomery, O. Nehlich, J. Towers and J. Evans 2013. British Iron Age chariot burials of the Arras culture: a multi-isotope approach to investigating mobility levels and subsistence practices. *World Archaeology* 45(3), 473–491.
- Joffroy, R. 1958. *Les sepulchres à char du premier âge du fer en France*. Paris: A. et J. Picard et Cie.
- Johnson, N. and P. Rose 1994. *Bodmin Moor. An archaeological survey*. London: English Heritage.
- Johnston, R. 2005. Pattern without a plan: rethinking the Bronze Age coaxial field systems on Dartmoor, south-west England. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24(1), 1–21.
- Jones, C.P. 1987. Stigma: tattooing and branding in Graeco-Roman antiquity. *Journal of Roman Studies* 77, 139–155.
- Jones, D. 1988. Aerial reconnaissance and prehistoric and Romano-British archaeology in northern Lincolnshire - a sample survey. *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 23, 5–30.
- Jones, H.L. 1923. *Strabo: Geography, Volume 2, Books 3–5*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jones, M. 1981. The development of crop husbandry, in M. Jones and G. Dimbleby (eds.) *The environment of man: the Iron Age to the Anglo-Saxon period*, 95–127. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, British Series 87.
- Jones, P. 2007. 'Idols in stone' or empty pedestals? Debating revolutionary iconoclasm in the post-Soviet transition, in S. Boldrick and R. Clay (eds.) *Iconoclasm. Contested objects, contested terms*, 241–259. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Jones, W.H.S. 1963. *Pliny: Natural History, Volume VIII, Books 28–32*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jouffroy-Bapicot, I., M. Pulido, S. Baron, D. Galop, F. Monna, M. Lavoie, A. Ploquin, C. Petit, J.-L. deBeaulieu and H. Richard 2007. Environmental impact of early palaeometallurgy: pollen and geochemical analysis. *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 16(4), 251–258.
- Joy, J. 2009. Reinvigorating object biography: reproducing the drama of object lives. *World Archaeology* 41(4), 540–556.
- Joy, J. 2016. Hoards as collections: re-examining the Snettisham Iron Age hoards from the perspective of collecting practice. *World Archaeology* 48(2), 239–253.
- Joyce, R.A. 2005. Archaeology of the body. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34, 139–158.
- Juhász, L. 2014. Two new Roman bronzes with Suebian nodus from Brigetio. *Dissertationes Archaeologicae* 3(2), 333–349.
- Kamp, K.A. 2001. Where have all the children gone?: the archaeology of childhood. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 8(1), 1–34.
- Karahan, A. 2014. Byzantine iconoclasm: ideology and quest for power, in K. Kolrud and M. Prusac (eds.) *Iconoclasm from antiquity to modernity*, 75–94. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Kaul, F. 1995. The Gundestrup cauldron reconsidered. *Acta Archaeologica* 66, 1–38.
- Kaul, F. 2014. The not so ugly duckling – an essay on meaning, in C. Gosden, S. Crawford and K. Ulmschneider (eds.) *Celtic art in Europe. Making Connections. Essays in honour of Vincent Megaw on his 80th birthday*, 103–112. Oxford: Oxbow Books.



- Kazhdan, A.P. and A.-M. Talbot 1992. Women and iconoclasm. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84–85(2), 391–408.
- Keller, P.T. 1989. Quern production at Folkestone, south-east Kent: an interim note. *Britannia* 20, 193–200.
- Kelly, E.P. 2012. An archaeological interpretation of Irish Iron Age bog bodies, in S. Ralph (ed.) *The archaeology of violence. Interdisciplinary approaches*, 232–240. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Kiernan, J. 1988. The other side of the coin: the conversion of money to religious purposes in Zulu Zionist churches. *Man* 23, 453–468.
- Kiilerich, B. 2014. Defacement and replacement as political strategies in Ancient and Byzantine ruler images, in K. Kolrud and M. Prusac (eds.) *Iconoclasm from antiquity to modernity*, 57–73. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Kimvall, J. 2012. Graffiti in the public realms, in H. Nilsson (ed.) *Placing art in the public realm*, 99–122. Flemingsberg: Södertörn University.
- King, A.C. and G. Soffe 1998. Internal organisation and deposition at the Iron Age temple on Hayling Island. *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club Archaeological Society* 53, 35–48.
- King, S. 2010. *What makes war? Assessing Iron Age warfare through mortuary behaviour and osteological patterns of violence*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Bradford, Bradford.
- King, S.S. 2013. Socialized violence. Contextualising violence through mortuary behaviour in Iron Age Britain, in C. Knüsel and M.J. Smith (eds.) *The Routledge handbook of the bioarchaeology of human conflict*, 185–200. London: Routledge.
- Kinsella, T. (trans.) 1969. *The Táin: Translated from the Irish epic Táin Bó Cuailnge*. Dublin: Dolmen Press.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. 1998. *Destination culture. Tourism, museums, and heritage*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Klindt-Jensen, O. 1959. The Gundestrup bowl: a reassessment. *Antiquity* 33(131), 161–169.
- Knapp, A.B. and P. van Dommelen 2008. Past practices: rethinking individuals and agents in archaeology. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 18(1), 15–34.
- Knappe, K.-A. 1981. Bilderstürmerei. Byzanz – Reformatio – Französische Revolution. *Kunstspiegel* 11, 265–285.
- Knüsel, C. 2007. Human remains, in Van de Noort, R., H. Chapman and J. Collis (eds.) 2007. *Sutton Common. The excavation of an Iron Age 'marsh fort'*, 137–139. New York: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 154.
- Knüsel, K.J. 2002. More Circe than Cassandra: the princess of Vix in ritualised social context. *European Journal of Archaeology* 5(3), 275–307.
- Koch, M.S. and M. Scharff 2007. Infrared reflectography (IRr) surface analysis, in P. Asingh and N. Lynnerup (eds.) *Gauballe Man. An Iron Age body revisited*, 79–83. Moesgaard: Jutland Archaeological Society and Moesgaard Museum.
- Kolrud, K. and M. Prusac (eds.) 2014. *Iconoclasm from antiquity to modernity*. Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Kopytoff, I. 1986. The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process, in A. Appadurai (ed.) *The social life of things: commodities in cultural process*, 64–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Krämer, W. 1960. The oppidum of Manching. *Antiquity* 34(135), 191–200.
- Krausmüller, D. 2016. Showing one's true colours: Patriarch Methodios on the morally improving effect of sacred images. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 40(2), 298–306.

- Krawiec, K., B.R. Gearey, H.P. Chapman, E.-J. Hopla, M. Bamforth, C. Griffiths, T.C.B. Hill and I. Tyers 2011. A late prehistoric timber alignment in the Waveney Valley, Suffolk: excavations at Barsham Marshes. *Journal of Wetland Archaeology* 10(1), 46–70.
- Kristiansen, K. 2002. The tale of the sword – swords and swordfighters in Bronze Age Europe. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21(4), 319–332.
- Kutschera, W. and W. Rom 2000. Ötzi, the prehistoric iceman. *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research B: Beam Interactions with Materials and Atoms* 164, 12–22.
- Kutschera, W. and W. Müller 2003. ‘Isotope language’ of the Alpine iceman investigated with AMS and MS. *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research B: Beam Interactions with Materials and Atoms* 204, 705–719.
- Lally, M. 2008. *Bodies, bones, objects and stones: investigating infancy, infant death, deposition and human identity in Iron Age southern England*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Southampton, Southampton.
- Lang, J. and A.R. Williams 1975. The hardening of iron swords. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 2(3), 199–207.
- Last, H. 1948. On the Flavian reliefs from the Palazzo della Cancelleria. *The Journal of Roman Studies* 38(1–2), 9–14.
- Last, J. 1998. Books of life: biography and memory in a Bronze Age barrow. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 17(1), 43–53.
- Latour, B. 2002. What is iconoclasm? Or is there a world beyond the image wars? In B. Latour and P. Weibel (eds.) *Iconoclasm: beyond the image wars in science, religion and art*, 14–37. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Lawrence, G.F. 1929. Antiquities from the middle Thames. *Archaeological Journal* 86(1), 69–98.
- Lawson, A.J. 1990. The prehistoric hinterland of Maiden Castle. *The Antiquaries Journal* 70(2), 217–287.
- Leah, M.D., C.E. Wells, C. Appleby and E. Huckerby 1997. *The wetlands of Cheshire*. Lancaster: Lancaster University Archaeological Unit, North West Wetlands Survey volume 4.
- Legg, S. 2004. Metropolitan catastrophes: scenarios, experiences and commemorations in the era of total war. *The London Journal* 29(2), 57–61.
- Leigh, M. 2010. Lucan’s Caesar and the sacred grove; deforestation and Enlightenment in Antiquity, in C. Tesoriero (ed.) *Lucan*. *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*, 201–238. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lejars, T. 1994. *Gournay III. Les fourreaux d’épée: le sanctuaire de Gournay-sur-Aronde et l’armements des Celtes de la Tène moyenne*. Paris: Errance.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. 1963. *Structural anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.
- Levy, J. 1982. *Social and religious organisation in Bronze Age Denmark: an analysis of ritual hoard finds*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series 124.
- Lieverse, A.R., V.I. Bazaliiskii and A.W. Weber 2015. Death by twins: a remarkable case of dystocic childbirth in early Neolithic Siberia. *Antiquity* 89(343), 23–38.
- Lock, G., C. Gosden and P. Daly 2005. *Segsbury Camp: excavations in 1996 and 1997 at an Iron Age hillfort on the Oxfordshire Ridgeway*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Lock, G., D. Miles, S. Palmer and A.M. Cromarty 2003. The hillfort, in D. Miles, S. Palmer, G. Lock, C. Gosden and A.M. Cromarty (eds.) *Uffington White Horse and its landscape: investigations at White Horse Hill, Uffington, 1989–95, and Tower Hill, Ashbury, 1993–4*, 79–126. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph No. 18.

- Login, E. 2012. War memorials in Sedan and Metz: the evolution of war memorialisation in eastern France. *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* 7(3), 177–198.
- Login, E. 2016. *Set in stone? War memorialisation as a long-term and continuing process in the UK, France and the USA*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Long, A.J., J.B. Innes, J.R. Kirby, J.M. Lloyd, M.M. Rutherford, I. Shennan and M.J. Tooley 1998. Holocene sea-level change and coastal evolution of the Humber estuary, eastern England: an assessment of rapid coastal change. *The Holocene* 8(2), 229–247.
- Loveday, R. 2002: Duggleby Howe revisited. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21, 135–46.
- Lurie, A. 2000. *The language of clothes*. New York: Owl Books.
- Lynch, F. 1970. *Prehistoric Anglesey*. Llangefni: Anglesey Antiquarian Society.
- McAuley, G. 1999. *Space in performance: making meaning in the theatre*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Macdonald, P. 1996. Llyn Cerrig Bach. An Iron Age votive assemblage, in S. Aldhouse-Green (ed.) *Art, ritual and death in prehistory*, 32–33. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales.
- MacDonald, P. 2007. *Llyn Cerrig Bach: a study of the copper-alloy artefacts from the insular La Tène assemblage*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Macklin, M.G. and J. Lewin 2003. River sediments, great floods and centennial-scale Holocene climate change. *Journal of Quaternary Science* 18(2), 101–105.
- McOmish, D. 2005. Bronze Age land allotment on the Marlborough Downs, in G. Brown, M. Field and D. McOmish (eds.) *The Avebury landscape: aspects of the field archaeology of the Marlborough Downs*, 133–136. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- MacPhail, R. 1989. Soil analysis, in D. Field, ‘Felday, Holmbury St Mary: an earthwork enclosure of the 1st century AD’. *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 80, 114–115.
- MacPhail, R. and R.G. Scaife 1987. The geographical and environmental background, in J. Bird and D.G. Bird (eds.) *The Archaeology of Surrey to 1540*, 31–52. Guildford: Surrey Archaeological Society.
- Magilton, J.R. 1978. Excavations at Lings Farm, Dunsville, Hatfield. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 50, 57–63.
- Major, L.H. and D.D. Perlmutter 2005. The fall of a pseudo-icon: the toppling of Saddam Hussein’s statue as image management. *Visual Communication Quarterly* 12(1), 38–45.
- Malraux, A. 1967. *Museum without walls*. London: Secker and Warburg.
- Manby, T.G. 2007. Continuity of monument traditions into the late Bronze Age? Henges to ring-forts, and shrines, in C. Burgess, P. Topping and F. Lynch (eds.) *Beyond Stonehenge: essays on the Bronze Age in honour of Colin Burgess*, 403–424. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Mannering, U., G. Possnert, J. Heinemeier and M. Gleba 2010. Dating Danish textiles and skins from bog finds by mean of  $^{14}\text{C}$  AMS. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37, 261–268.
- Manning, W.H. 1972. Ironwork hoards in Iron Age and Roman Britain. *Britannia* 3, 224–250.
- Marples, M. 1981. *White horses and other hill figures* (2nd edition). Stroud: Alan Sutton.
- Martínez, A.J. 1999. Religión y ritual funerario celtibéricos. *Revista de Soria* 25, 5–18.
- Mattingly, H. (trans.) 1970. *Tacitus. The Agricola and the Germania* (translation revised by S.A. Handford). London: Penguin Books.
- Megaw, J.V.S. 2003. Celtic foot(less) soldiers? An iconographic note. *Gladius* 23, 61–70.
- Megaw, V. 2004. In the footsteps of Brennos? Further archaeological evidence for Celts in the Balkans, in B. Hänsel B and E. Studenikova (eds.) *Zwischen Karpaten und Ägäis*.

- Neolithikum und ältere Bronzezeit. Gedenkschrift für Viera Nemejcova-Pavukova*, 93–107. Rahden: Westphalia Press.
- Megaw, R. and V. Megaw 1988. A stone head from Mšecké Žehrovice: a reappraisal. *Antiquity* 62(237), 630–641.
- Meinig, D.W. 1979. The beholding eye – ten versions of the same scene, in D.W. Meinig (ed.) *The interpretation of ordinary landscapes – geographical essays*, 33–48. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Merrick, J. 1991. Politics on pedestals: royal monuments in eighteenth-century France. *French History* 5(2), 234–264.
- Meskel, L. 2002. Negative heritage and past mastering in archaeology. *Anthropological Quarterly* 75(3), 557–574.
- Metcalfe, S.E., S. Ellis, B.P. Horton, J.B. Innes, J. McArthur, A. Mitlehner, A. Parkes, J.S. Pethick, J. Rees, J. Ridgway, M.M. Rutherford, I. Shennan and M.J. Tooley 2000. The Holocene evolution of the Humber Estuary: reconstructing change in a dynamic environment, in I. Shennan and J. Andrews (eds.) *Holocene land-ocean interaction and environmental change around the North Sea*, 97–118. Bath: Geological Society Special Publication 166.
- Miles, D., S. Palmer and A.M. Cromarty 2003a. The White Horse, in D. Miles, S. Palmer, G. Lock, C. Gosden and A.M. Cromarty (eds.) *Uffington White Horse and its landscape: investigations at White Horse Hill, Uffington, 1989–95, and Tower Hill, Ashbury, 1993–4*, 61–78. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph No. 18.
- Miles, D., S. Palmer, G. Lock, C. Gosden and A.M. Cromarty 2003b. White Horse Hill, in D. Miles, S. Palmer, G. Lock, C. Gosden and A.M. Cromarty (eds.) *Uffington White Horse and its landscape: investigations at White Horse Hill, Uffington, 1989–95, and Tower Hill, Ashbury, 1993–4*, 7–14. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph No. 18.
- Money, J. 1960. Excavations at High Rocks, Tunbridge Wells, 1954–1956. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 98, 173–221.
- Money, J. 1968. Excavations in the Iron Age hill-fort at High Rocks, near Tunbridge Wells, 1957–1961. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 106, 158–205.
- Money, J. 1977. The Iron Age hill-fort and Romano-British iron-working settlement at Garden Hill, Sussex: interim report on excavations, 1968–76. *Britannia* 8, 339–350.
- Monna, F., D. Galop, L. Carozza, M. Tual, A. Beyrie, F. Marembert, C. Chateau, J. Dominik and F.E. Grousset 2004. Environmental impact of early Basque mining and smelting recorded in a high ash minerogenic peat deposit. *Science of the Total Environment* 327(1–3), 197–214.
- Moore, T. 2007. Perceiving communities: exchange, landscapes and social networks in the later Iron Age of western Britain. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 26(1), 79–102.
- Moore, T., A. Braun, J. Creighton, L. Cripps, P. Haupt, I. Kellner, P. Nouvel, C. Ponroy and M. Schönfelder 2013. Oppida, agglomerations, and suburbia: the Bibracte environs and new perspectives on late Iron Age urbanism in central-eastern France. *European Journal of Archaeology* 16(3), 491–517.
- Morris, E.L. 1985. Prehistoric salt distributions: two case studies from western Britain. *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 32, 336–379.
- Morris, E.L. and P.S. Gelling 1991. A note on The Berth, in M.O.H. Carver (ed.) *Prehistory in lowland Shropshire*, 58–62. Shrewsbury: Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society 67.

- Morris, R.K. 2003. Monastic architecture: destruction and reconstruction, in D. Gaimster and R. Gilchrist (eds.) *The archaeology of the Reformation*, 235–251. Leeds: Maney.
- Mortimer, J.R. 1897. The Danes Graves. *Yorkshire Philosophical Society Report*, 1897, 286–298.
- Mortimer, J.R. 1905. *Forty years researches in British and Saxon burial mounds of East Yorkshire*. London: A. Brown and Sons.
- Musson, C.R. (with W.J. Britnell and A.G. Smith) 1991. *The Breiddin Hillfort. A later prehistoric settlement in the Welsh Marches*. London: Council for British Archaeology Report No. 76.
- Mustakallio, K. 1994. *Death and disgrace. Capital penalties with post mortem sanctions in early Roman historiography*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Nash, G. and G. Children (eds.) 2006. *The archaeology of semiotics and the social order of things*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Navarro, J.M. de 1972. *The finds from the site of La Tène*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nayling, N. 2007. Dendrochronology, in R. Van de Noort, H. Chapman and J. Collis (eds.) *Sutton Common. The excavation of an Iron Age 'marsh-fort'*, 91–93. New York: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 154.
- Nerlich, A.G., O. Peschel and E. Egarter-Vigl 2009. New evidence for Ötzi's final trauma. *Intensive Care Medicine* 35(6), 1138–1139.
- Nerlich, A.G., B. Bachmeier, A. Zink, S. Thalhammer and E. Egarter-Vigl 2003. Ötzi had a wound on his right hand. *The Lancet* 362(9380), 334.
- Nielsen, S., J. H. Andersen, J.A. Baker, C. Christensen, J. Glastrup, P.M. Grootes, M. Hüls, A. Jouttijärvi, E. B. Larsen, H.B. Madsen, K. Müller, M.-J. Nadeau, S. Röhrs, H. Stege, Z.A. Stos and T.E. Waight 2005. The Gundestrup cauldron. New scientific and technical investigations. *Acta Archaeologica* 76, 1–58.
- Noble, T. 2014. Neither iconoclasm nor iconodulia: the Carolingian via media, in K. Kolrud and M. Prusac (eds.) *Iconoclasm from antiquity to modernity*, 95–105. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Noyes, J. 2013a. *The politics of iconoclasm. Religion, violence and the culture of image-breaking in Christianity and Islam*. London: I.B. Taurus.
- Noyes, J. 2013b. Iconoclasm in the twentieth century: machines, mass destruction, and two world wars, in S. Boldrick, L. Brubaker and R. Clay (eds.) *Striking images, iconoclasm past and present*, 129–143. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Oldfather, C.H. 1939. *Diodorus Siculus: Bibliotheca historica, volume 3*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Oldfield, F., S.R. Higgitt, N. Richardson and G. Yates 1986. Pollen, charcoal, rhizopod and radiometric analyses, in I.M. Stead, J.B. Bourke and D. Brothwell (eds.) *Lindow Man. The body in the bog*, 82–85. London: British Museum Publications Ltd.
- Olmsted, G.S. 1976. The Gundestrup version of *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. *Antiquity* 50(198), 95–103.
- Olwig, K.R. 1993. Sexual cosmology: nation and landscape at the conceptual interstices of nature and culture: or, what does landscape really mean, in B. Bender (ed.) *Landscape: politics and perspectives*, 19–48. Oxford: Berg.
- Oswald, A. 1997. A doorway on the past: practical and mystical concerns in the orientation of roundhouse doorways, in A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds.) *Reconstructing Iron Age societies*, 87–95. Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 71.
- Pabst, M.A., I. Letofsky-Papst, E. Bock, M. Moser, L. Dorfer, E. Egarter-Vigl and F. Hofer 2009. The tattoos of the Tyrolean Iceman: a light microscopical, ultrastructural and element analytical study. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36(10), 2335–2341.

- Pabst, M.A., I. Letofsky-Papst, M. Moser, K. Spindler, E. Bock, P. Wilhelm, M.D.L. Dorfer, J.B. Geigl, M. Auer, M.R. Speicher and F. Hofer 2010. Different staining substances were used in decorative and therapeutic tattoos in a 1000-year-old Peruvian mummy. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37(12), 3256–3262.
- Parfitt, K. 1995. *Iron Age burials from Mill Hill, Deal*. London: British Museum Press.
- Parker Pearson, M. 1986. Lindow man and the Danish connection. Further light on the mystery of the bogman. *Anthropology Today* 2(1), 15–18.
- Parker Pearson, M. 1996. Food, fertility and front doors in the first millennium BC, in T.C. Champion and J.R. Collis (eds.) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: recent trends*, 117–132. Sheffield: J.R. Collis Publications.
- Parker Pearson, M. 2003. *The archaeology of death and burial*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd.
- Parker Pearson, M. 2005. Warfare, violence and slavery in later prehistory: an introduction, in M. Parker Pearson and I.J.N. Thorpe (eds.) *Warfare, violence and slavery in prehistory*, 19–33. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports (International Series) 1374.
- Parker Pearson, M. 2015. *Stonehenge. Making sense of a prehistoric mystery*. New York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Parker Pearson, M., A. Chamberlain, M. Collins, C. Cox, G. Craig, O. Craig, J. Hiller, P. Marshall, J. Mulville and H. Smith 2007. Further evidence for mummification in Bronze Age Britain. *Antiquity* 81(312) (<http://www.antiquity.ac.uk/Projgall/parker312/>).
- Parker Pearson, M., A. Chamberlain, O. Craig, P. Marshall, J. Mulville, H. Smith, C. Chenery, M. Collins, G. Cook, G. Craig, J. Evans, J. Hiller, J. Montgomery, J.-L. Schwenninger, G. Taylor and T. Weiss 2005. Evidence for mummification in Bronze Age Britain. *Antiquity* 79(305), 529–546.
- Parker Pearson, M. and R. Sydes 1997. The Iron Age enclosures and prehistoric landscape at Sutton Common, South Yorkshire. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 63, 221–259.
- Patrick, C. 2007. Geology, in R. Van de Noort, H.P. Chapman and J.R. Collis (eds.) *Sutton Common. The excavation of an Iron Age 'marsh-fort'*, 51–52. New York: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 154.
- Peacock, D.P.S. 1987. Iron Age and Roman quern production at Lodsworth, West Sussex. *The Antiquaries Journal* 67(1), 61–85.
- Pearce, M. 2013. The spirit of the sword and spear. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 23(1), 55–67.
- Peglar, S.M., S.C. Fritz and H.J.B. Birks 1989. Vegetation and land-use history at Diss, Norfolk, UK. *Journal of Ecology* 77, 203–222.
- Perdrizet, P. La marque dans l'Antiquité. *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 14, 54–129.
- Peretti, P., R. Carter and B. McClinton 1977. Graffiti and adolescent personality. *Adolescence* 12(45), 31–42.
- Perlmutter, D. 2007. Mujahideen desecration: beheadings, mutilation and Muslim iconoclasm. *Anthropoetics – The Journal of Generative Anthropology* 12(2).
- Pernter, P., P. Gostner, E. Egarter Vigl and F.J. Rühli 2007. Radiologic proof for the Iceman's cause of death (ca. 5,300BP). *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34(11), 1784–1786.
- Perrin, B. 1914. *Plutarch: Lives*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Perring, S.M. 2013. Reformation of the English cathedral landscape: negotiating change in York Minster Close c. 1500–1642. *World Archaeology* 45(1), 186–205.
- Petrie, F. 1926. *The hill figures of England*. London: Royal Anthropological Institute occasional papers No. 7.



- Phillips, J. 1973. *The reformation of images: destruction of art in England, 1535–1660*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Piccirillo, M. 1993. *The mosaics of Jordan*. Amman, Jordan: American Center of Oriental Research.
- Pieper, P. 2003. Peat bog corpses, in A. Bauerochse and H. Hassmann (eds.) *Peatlands, archaeological sites, archives of nature, nature conservation, wise use*, 107–114. Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf.
- Piggott, S. 1931a. Ladle Hill – an unfinished hillfort. *Antiquity* 5(20), 474–485.
- Piggott, S. 1931b. The Uffington White Horse. *Antiquity* 5(17), 37–46.
- Piggott, S. 1950. *William Stukeley: an eighteenth century antiquary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Piggott, S. 1992. *Wagon, chariot and carriage: symbol and status in the history of transport*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Pitts, M. 2005. Pots and pits: drinking and deposition in late Iron Age south-east Britain. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24(2), 143–161.
- Pollard, J., V. Fryer, P. Murphy, M. Taylor and P. Wiltshire 1996. Iron Age riverside pit alignments at St Ives, Cambridgeshire. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 62, 93–115.
- Poux, M. 1997. Les amphores de Bâle-Gasfabrik. Approche taphonomique. *Annuaire de la Société Suisse de Préhistoire et d'Archéologie* 80, 147–172.
- Poux, M. 2004. *L'âge du Vin. Rites de boisson, festins et libations en Gaule indépendante*. Montagnac: M. Mergoïl.
- Powelsland, D.J. Staple How in its landscape, in T.G. Manby (ed.) *Archaeology in eastern Yorkshire. Essays in honour of T.C.M. Brewster FSA*, 101–107. Sheffield: Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield.
- Preucel, R.W. 2006. *Archaeological semiotics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Price, T.D., C. Knipper, G. Grupe and V. Smrcka 2004. Strontium isotopes and prehistoric human migration: the Bell Beaker period in central Europe. *European Journal of Archaeology* 7(1), 9–40.
- Priston, A.V. 1986. The hair, in I.M. Stead, J.B. Bourke and D. Brothwell (eds.) *Lindow Man. The body in the bog*, 71. London: British Museums Publications.
- Probst, P. 2012. Iconoclasm in the age of heritage. *African Arts* 45(3), 10–13.
- Proudhon, P.-J. 2007. *What is property?* New York: Cosimo Classics.
- Prusac, M. 2014. *Presence and the image controversies in the third and fourth centuries AD*, in K. Kolrud and M. Prusac (eds.) *Iconoclasm from antiquity to modernity*, 41–56. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Pryor, F.M.M. 1984. Personalities of Britain: two examples of long-term regional contrast. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 3, 8–15.
- Pryor, F.M.M. 1992. Discussion: the Fengate/Northey landscape. *Antiquity* 66(251), 518–531.
- Pryor, F.M.M. 2002. *Seahenge: a quest for life and death in Bronze Age Britain*. London: Harper Collins.
- Püschel, K., A. Bauerochse, A. Fuhrmann, S. Hummel, E. Jopp, A. Kettner, U. Lockemann, A. Metzler, D. Schmid and K.-D. Schmidt 2005. Rechtsmedizin, Anthropologie und Archäologie. Ein „vermisstes“ Mädchen entpuppt sich als über 2700 Jahre alte Moorleiche. *Rechtsmedizin* 15, 202–205.
- Pyatt, F.B., E.H. Beaumont, D. Lacy, J.R. Magilton and P.C. Buckland 1991. Non Isatis sed Vitrum or, the colour of Lindow Man. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10(1), 61–73.
- Pyatt, F.B., E.H. Beaumont, P.C. Buckland, D. Lacy, J.R. Magilton and D.M. Storey 1995. Mobilisation of elements from the bog bodies Lindow II and III and some observations



- on body painting, in R.C. Turner and R.G. Scaife (eds.) *Bog bodies. New discoveries and new perspectives*, 62–73. London: British Museum Press.
- Raftery, B. (ed.) 1996. *Trackway excavations in the Mountdillon Bogs, Co. Longford, 1985–1991*. Dublin: Crannóg.
- Rambelli, F. and E. Reinders 2007. What does iconoclasm create? What does preservation destroy? Reflections on iconoclasm in East Asia, in S. Boldrick and R. Clay (eds.) *Iconoclasm: contested objects, contested terms*, 15–33. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Rambelli, F. and E. Reinders 2012. *Buddhism and iconoclasm in East Asia. A history*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Ramm, H. 1978. *The Parisi*. London: Gerald Duckworth and Co.
- Randsborg, K. 1995. *Hjortspring. Warfare and sacrifice in early Europe*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Randsborg, K. 2002. Wetland hoards. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21(4), 415–418.
- Rasmussen, T. 2014. Iconoclasm and religious images in the early Lutheran tradition, in K. Kolrud and M. Prusac (eds.) *Iconoclasm from antiquity to modernity*, 107–118. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Redfern, R. 2008. New evidence for Iron Age secondary burial practice and bone modification from Gussage All Saints and Maiden Castle (Dorset, England). *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 27(3), 281–301.
- Redfern, R. 2009. Does cranial trauma provide evidence for projectile weaponry in late Iron Age Dorset? *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 28(4), 399–424.
- Redfern, R. 2010. A regional examination of surgery and fracture treatment in Iron Age and Roman Britain. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 20(4), 443–471.
- Richards, C. 1978. *Archaeology of the Berkshire Downs: an introductory survey*. Reading: Berkshire Archaeological Committee.
- Richards, C. and J. Thomas 1984. Ritual activity and structured deposition in later Neolithic Wessex, in R. Bradley and J. Gardiner (eds.) *Neolithic studies: a review of some current research*, 189–218. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Richmond, I.A. 1968. *Hod Hill. Vol. 2: excavations carried out between 1951 and 1958*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.
- Ridley, E. 1896. *The Pharsalia of Lucan*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Rieu, E.V. (trans.) 2003. *Homer. The Odyssey*. London: Penguin Classics.
- Riley, D.N. 1973. Aerial reconnaissance of the West Riding Magnesian Limestone country. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 45, 210–213.
- Riley, D.N. 1976. Air reconnaissance of West and South Yorkshire in 1975. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 48, 13–17.
- Riley, D.N. 1980. *Early landscape from the air - studies of crop marks in South Yorkshire and North Nottinghamshire*. Sheffield: Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield.
- Rivers, W.H.R. 1910. The genealogical method of anthropological enquiry. *The Sociological Review* 3(1), 1–12.
- Robbins, G. 1998. Cropmark landscapes and domestic space. *Assemblage* 3 (<http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/assemblage/html/3/3gray.html>).
- Roberts, B.W., D. Boughton, M. Dinwiddy, N. Doshi, A.P. Fitzpatrick, D. Hook, N. Meeks, A. Mongiatti, A. Woodward and P.J. Woodward 2015. Collapsing commodities or lavish offerings? Understanding massive metalwork deposition at Langton Matravers, Dorset during the Bronze Age-Iron Age transition. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 34(4), 365–395.

- Roberts, O.T.P. 2002. Accident not intention: Llyn Cerrig Bach, Isle of Anglesey, Wales – site of an Iron Age shipwreck. *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 31(1), 25–38.
- Robinson, M. 1984. Landscape and environment of central southern Britain in the Iron Age, in B. Cunliffe and D. Miles (eds.) *Aspects of the Iron Age in central southern Britain*, 1–11. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology monograph 2.
- Robinson, M.A. and G.H. Lambrick 1984. Holocene alluviation and hydrology in the upper Thames basin. *Nature* 308(5962), 809–814.
- Rolle, R. 1992. Die skythenzeitlichen Mumienfunde von Pazyryk Gräber aus dem Altaigebirge, in F. Höpfer, W. Platzer and K. Spindler (eds.) *Veröffentlichungen der Universität Innsbruck*, 334–358. Innsbruck: University of Innsbruck.
- Ross, A. 1986. Lindow Man and the Celtic tradition, in I.M. Stead, J.B. Bourke and D. Brothwell (eds.) *Lindow Man. The body in the bog*, 162–169. London: British Museum Publications.
- Rowlett, R.M. 1993. North Gaulish forms on the Gundestrup cauldron. *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 13, 166–182.
- Rudenko, S.I. 1970. *The frozen tombs of Siberia. The Pazyryk burials of Iron-Age horsemen*. London: J.M. Dent and Sons.
- Samuels, J. and P.C. Buckland 1978. A Roman settlement at Sandtoft, South Humberside. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 50, 65–75.
- Samuels, J. and J. May 1980. The excavations, in D.N. Riley, *Early landscape from the air, studies of crop marks in South Yorkshire and North Nottinghamshire*, 73–81. Sheffield: Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield.
- Saradi, H. 1997. The use of ancient spoila in Byzantine monuments: the archaeological and literary evidence. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3(4), 395–423.
- Saradi-Mendelovici, H. 1990. Christian attitudes toward pagan monuments in late Antiquity and their legacy in later Byzantine centuries. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44, 47–61.
- Sauer, E.W. 2014. Disabling demonic images: regional diversity in ancient iconoclasts' motives and targets, in K. Kolrud and M. Prusac (eds.) *Iconoclasm from antiquity to modernity*, 15–40. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Scaife, R.G. 1986. Pollen in human palaeofaeces; and a preliminary investigation of the stomach and gut contents of Lindow Man, in I.M. Stead, J.B. Bourke and D. Brothwell (eds.) *Lindow Man. The body in the bog*, 126–135. London: British Museum Publications Ltd.
- Scheeres, M. 2014. *High mobility rates during the period of the 'Celtic migrations'? 87Sr/86Sr and 818O evidence from early La Tène Europe*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Mainz, Mainz.
- Scheeres, M., C. Knipper, M. Hauschild, M. Schönfelder, W. Siebel, D. Vitali, C. Pare and K.W. Alt 2013. Evidence for 'Celtic migrations'? Strontium isotope analysis at the early La Tène (LT B) cemeteries of Nebringen (Germany) and Monte Bibele (Italy). *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40(10), 3614–3625.
- Scheeres, M., C. Knipper, M. Hauschild, M. Schönfelder, W. Siebel, C. Pare and K.W. Alt 2014. 'Celtic migrations': fact or fiction? Strontium and oxygen isotope analysis of the Czech cemeteries of Radovesice and Kutná Hora in Bohemia. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 155(4), 496–512.
- Schiffer, M.B. 1972. Archaeological context and systemic context. *American Antiquity* 37(2), 156–165.
- Schildkrout, E. 2004. Inscribing the body. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33, 319–344.

- Schofield, J.E. and M.J. Bunting 2005. Mid-Holocene presence of water chestnut (*Trapa natans* L.) in the meres of Holderness, East Yorkshire, UK. *The Holocene* 15(5), 687–697.
- Schwyzler, P. 1999. The scouring of the White Horse: archaeology, identity and ‘heritage’. *Representations* 65, 42–62.
- Sellewold, B.J. U.L. Hansen and J.B. Jorgensen. 1984. *Iron Age man in Denmark: Prehistoric man in Denmark, vol. 3*. Copenhagen: Royal Danish National Archives.
- Sharples, N.M. 1991. *Maiden Castle. Excavations and field survey 1985–6*. London: English Heritage.
- Shennan, I. and B. Horton 2002. Holocene land- and sea-level changes in Great Britain. *Journal of Quaternary Science* 17(5–6), 511–526.
- Sheppard, T. 1907. Note on a British chariot-burial at Hunmanby in East Yorkshire. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 19, 482–488.
- Shuckburg, E.S. 2016. *The histories of Polybius, volume 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sievers, S. 2002. Manching revisited. *Antiquity* 76(294), 943–944.
- Simmons, I.G. 2001. *An environmental history of Great Britain from 10,000 years ago to the present*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Simpson, J. 2010. *Under the hammer. Iconoclasm in the Anglo-American tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Skoglund, P. 2012. *The significance of trees. An archaeological perspective*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series 2324.
- Smith, B.M. 2002. *A palaeoecological study of raised mires in the Humberhead levels. Thorne and Hatfield Moors*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 366.
- Smith, K., J. Coppen, G.J. Wainwright and S. Beckett 1981. The Shaugh Moor Project: third report – settlement and environmental investigations. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 47, 205–273.
- Sofaer-Derevenski, J. 1996. Where are the children? Accessing children in the past. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 13(2), 7–20.
- Sofaer-Derevenski, J. (ed.) 2000. *Children and material culture*. London: Routledge.
- Spicer, A. 2014. Iconoclasm on the Frontier: Le Cateau-Cambrésis, 1566, in K. Kolrud and M. Prusac (eds.) *Iconoclasm from antiquity to modernity*, 119–137. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Spindler, K. 1994. *The man in the ice. The preserved body of a Neolithic man reveals the secrets of the Stone Age*. London: Wiedenfeld and Nicholson.
- Spraggon, J. 2003. *Puritan iconoclasm during the English Civil War*. Woodbridge: the Boydell Press.
- Stead, I.M. 1959. A chariot burial on Pexton Moor, North Riding. *Antiquity* 33(131), 214–216.
- Stead, I.M. 1965. The Celtic chariot. *Antiquity* 39(156), 259–265.
- Stead, I.M. 1967. A La Tène III burial at Welwyn Garden City. *Archaeologia* 101, 1–62.
- Stead, I.M. 1979. *The Arras Culture*. York: Yorkshire Philosophical Society.
- Stead, I.M. 1985. *The Battersea Shield*. London: British Museum Publications.
- Stead, I.M. 1991a. *Iron Age cemeteries in East Yorkshire. Excavations at Burton Fleming, Rudston, Garton-on-the-Wolds, and Kirkburn*. London: English Heritage, in association with the British Museum Press.
- Stead, I.M. 1991b. The Snettisham Treasure: excavations in 1990. *Antiquity* 65(248), 447–464.
- Stead, I.M. 2006. *British Iron Age swords and scabbards*. London: British Museum Press.

- Stoertz, C. 1997. *Ancient landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds. Aerial photographic transcription and analysis*. Swindon: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.
- Straker, V., A. Brown, R. Fyfe, J. Jones and K. Wilkinson 2008. Later Bronze Age and Iron Age environmental background, in C.J. Webster (ed.) *The archaeology of south west England: south west archaeological research framework, resource assessment and research agenda*, 103–116. Taunton: Somerset County Council.
- Swinnerton, H.H. 1932. The prehistoric pottery sites of the Lincolnshire coast. *The Antiquaries Journal* 12(3), 239–252.
- Tackett, T. 2003. *When the king took flight*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Tapavički-Ilić, M. and V. Filipović 2012. A late Iron Age grave find from Symria, in S. Berecki (ed.) *Iron Age rites and rituals in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the international colloquium from Târgu Mureş 2011*, 453–459. Târgu Mureş: Editura MEGA.
- Taylor, G.W. 1986. Tests for dyes, in I.M. Stead, J.B. Bourke and D. Brothwell (eds.) *Lindow Man. The body in the bog*, 41. London: British Museums Publications.
- Taylor, T. 2001. Believing the ancients: quantitative and qualitative dimensions of slavery and the slave trade in later prehistoric Eurasia. *World Archaeology* 33(1), 27–43.
- Taylor, T. 2005. Ambushed by a grotesque: archaeology, slavery and the third paradigm, in M. Parker Pearson and I.J.N. Thorpe (eds.) *Warfare, violence and slavery in prehistory*, 225–233. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports (International Series) 1374.
- Thomas, C. 1963. The interpretation of the Pictish symbols. *Archaeological Journal* 120(1), 31–97.
- Thomas, G. and W. Fletcher 2001. Prehistoric and Roman salt-making in the Lincolnshire Marsh, in S. Ellis, H. Fenwick, M. Lillie and R. Van de Noort (eds.) *Wetland heritage of the Lincolnshire Marsh: an archaeological survey*, 215–230. Hull: Humber Wetlands Project and English Heritage.
- Thomas, R. 1997. Land, kinship relations and the rise of enclosed settlement in first millennium bc Britain. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 16(2), 211–218.
- Thompson, F.H. 1979. Three Surrey hillforts: excavations at Anstiebury, Holmbury and Hascombe, 1972–1977. *Antiquaries Journal* 59(2), 245–318.
- Thompson, F.H. 1983. Excavations at Bigberry, near Canterbury, 1979–80. *Antiquaries Journal* 63(2), 237–278.
- Thompson, M. 1979. *Rubbish theory: the creation and destruction of value*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tierney, J.J. 1960. The Celtic ethnography of Posidonius. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 60, 189–275.
- Tikhomirov, A. (translated by Jacqueline Friedlander) 2012. Symbols of power in rituals of violence: the personality cult and iconoclasm on the Soviet Empire's periphery (East Germany, 1945–61). *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 13(1), 47–88.
- Tilley, C. 1994. *A phenomenology of landscape: places, paths, and monuments*. Oxford: Berg.
- Tilley, C. 2004. Round barrows and dykes as landscape metaphors. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 14(2), 185–203.
- Tipping, R. 1994. The form and fate of Scotland's woodlands. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 124, 1–54.
- Tipping, R. 2002. Climatic variability and 'marginal' settlement in upland British landscapes: a re-evaluation. *Landscapes* 3(2), 10–29.

- Todd, M. 1987. *The northern barbarians 100BC – AD300*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Todd, M. 1990. *Roman Britain 55BC – AD400*. London: Fontana Press.
- Tuan, Y-F. 1977. *Space and place. The perspective of experience*. London: Edward Arnold Ltd.
- Turek, J. 2000. Being a Beaker child. The position of children in late Eneolithic society, in *Památky archeologické - Supplementum 13. In Memoriam Jan Rulf*, 422–436. Prague: Archeologický Ústav AV ČR.
- Turner, J. 1962. The *Tilia* decline: an anthropogenic interpretation. *New Phytologist* 61, 238–341.
- Turner, T.S. 1980. The social skin, in J. Chermas and R. Lewin (eds.) *Not work alone: a cross-cultural view of activities superfluous to survival*, 112–140. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Turner, T. 1995. Social body and embodied subject: bodiliness, subjectivity, and sociality among the Kayapó. *Cultural Anthropology* 10(2), 143–153.
- Tweddle, J. 2001. Regional vegetational history, in M.D. Bateman, P.C. Buckland, C.D. Friedrick and N.J. Whitehouse (eds.) *The Quaternary of East Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire. Field guide*, 35–47. London: Quaternary Research Association.
- Van de Noort, R. 2004. *The Humber wetlands. The archaeology of a dynamic landscape*. Macclesfield: Windgather Press.
- Van de Noort, R. and S. Ellis (eds.) 1995. *Wetland heritage of Holderness. An archaeological survey*. Hull: Humber Wetlands Project and English Heritage.
- Van de Noort, R. and S. Ellis (eds.) 1997. *Wetland heritage of the Humberhead levels. An archaeological survey*. Hull: Humber Wetlands Project and English Heritage.
- Van de Noort, R. and A. O'Sullivan 2006. *Rethinking wetland archaeology*. London: Duckworth.
- Van de Noort, R., H.P. Chapman and J.R. Collis 2007. *Sutton Common. The excavation of an Iron Age 'marsh-fort'*. New York: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 154.
- van der Plicht, J., W.A.B. van der Sanden, A.T. Aerts and H.J. Steurman 2004. Dating bog bodies by means of  $^{14}\text{C}$ -AMS. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 31, 471–491.
- van der Sanden, W.A.B. 1996. *From nature to eternity. The bog bodies of northwest Europe*. Amsterdam: Batavian Lion International.
- van der Sanden, W.A.B. 2013. Bog bodies: underwater burials, sacrifices and executions, in F. Menotti and A. O'Sullivan (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of wetland archaeology*, 401–416. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- van Dommelen, P. 2014. Moving on: archaeological perspectives on movement and migration. *World Archaeology* 46(4), 477–483.
- van Geel, B. and H. Renssen 1998. Abrupt climate change around 2,650BC in north-west Europe: evidence for climatic teleconnections and a tentative explanation, in A.S. Issar and N. Brown (eds.) *Water, environment and society in times of climatic change*, 21–41. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.
- van Geel, B., J. Buurman and H.T. Waterbolk 1996. Archaeological and palaeoecological indications of an abrupt climate change in the Netherlands, and evidence for climatological teleconnections around 2650 BP. *Journal of Quaternary Science* 11(6), 451–460.
- van Geel, B., J. van der Plicht, M.R. Kilian, E.R. Klaver, J.H.M. Kouwenbert, H. Renssen, I. Reynaud-Farrera and H.T. Waterbolk 1998. The sharp rise of  $\Delta^{14}\text{C}$  ca. 800 cal BC: possible causes, relating climatic teleconnections and the impact on human environments. *Radiocarbon* 40(1), 535–550.
- van Gennep, A. 2011. *The rites of passage* (translated by M.B. Vizedom and G.L. Caffee). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Varner, E. 2004. *Mutilation and transformation: damnatio memoriae and Roman imperial portraiture*. Leiden: Brill.
- Venclová, N. 1989. Mšecké Žehrovice, Bohemia: excavations 1979–88. *Antiquity* 63(238), 142–146.
- Venclová, N. 2002. The Venerable Bede, druidic tonsure and archaeology. *Antiquity* 76(292), 458–471.
- Vittinghoff, F. 1936. *Der Staatsfeind in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Untersuchungen zur 'damnatio memoriae'*. Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt.
- Wainwright, G. and M. Spratling 1973. The Iron Age settlement of Gussage All Saints. Part I. The settlement. *Antiquity* 47(186), 109–130.
- Wait, G.A. 1985. Ritual and religion in Iron Age Britain. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, British Series 149 (volumes i and ii).
- Wandel, L.P. *Voracious idols and violent hands: iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg and Basel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Watkins, R., J.D. Scourse and J.R.M. Allen 2008. The Holocene vegetation history of the Arfon Platform, North Wales, UK. *Boreas* 36, 170–181.
- Watts, L. and P. Leach 1996. *Henley Wood, temples and cemetery. Excavations 1962–69 by the late Ernest Greenfield and others*. New York: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 99.
- Weninger, B., R. Schulting, M. Bradtmöller, L. Clare, M. Collard, K. Edinborough, J. Hilper, O. Jöris, M. Niekus, E.J. Royling and B. Wagner 2008. The catastrophic final flooding of Doggerland by the Storegga Slide tsunami. *Documenta Praehistorica* 35(15), 1–24.
- West, I.E. 1986. Forensic aspects of Lindow Man, in I.M. Stead, J.B. Bourke and D. Brothwell (eds.) *Lindow Man. The body in the bog*, 77–80. London: British Museum Publications.
- Western, A.G. and J.D. Hurst 2013. 'Soft heads'. Evidence for sexualised warfare during the later Iron Age from Kemerton Camp, Bredon Hill, in C. Knüsel and M.J. Smith (eds.) *The Routledge handbook of the bioarchaeology of human conflict*, 161–184. London: Routledge.
- Wheeler, R.E.M. 1943. *Maiden Castle, Dorset*. Oxford: Society of Antiquaries Research Report 17.
- Whimster, R. 1977. Iron Age burial in southern Britain. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 43, 317–327.
- Whimster, R. 1981. *Burial practices in Iron Age Britain*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, British Series 90.
- Whiting, C.E. 1936. Excavations on Sutton Common, 1933, 1934 and 1935. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 33, 57–80.
- Whitley, J. 2002. Objects with attitude: biographical facts and fallacies in the study of late Bronze Age and early Iron Age warrior graves. *Cambridge Journal of Archaeology* 12(2), 217–232.
- Whittington, G. and K.J. Edwards 1993. *Ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant: the Romans in Scotland, a palaeoenvironmental contribution*. *Britannia* 24, 13–25.
- Williams, P. 2008. The afterlife of communist statuary: Hungary's Szoborpark and Lithuania's Grutas Park. *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 44(2), 185–198.
- Wilson, A.S., M.P. Richards, B. Stern, R.C. Janaway, A.M. Pollard and D.J. Tobin 2007. Information on Grauballe Man from his hair, in P. Asingh and N. Lynnerup (eds.) *Grauballe Man. An Iron Age body revisited*, 189–195. Moesgaard: Jutland Archaeological Society and Moesgaard Museum.

- Winton, H. 1998. The cropmark evidence for prehistoric and Roman settlement in west Lincolnshire, in R.H. Bewley (ed.) *Lincolnshire's archaeology from the air*, 47–68. Gainsborough: The society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology and the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.
- Woodward, A. 1992. *Shrines and sacrifice*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd. and English Heritage.
- Woodward, A. 2002. Beads and beakers: heirlooms and relics in the British early Bronze Age. *Antiquity* 76, 1040–1047.
- Woodward, A. and P. Leach 1993. *The Uley Shrines. Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire*. London: English Heritage and British Museum Press.
- Woolfe, G. 1993. Rethinking the oppida. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12(2), 223–234.
- Wright, E.V. and C.W. Wright 1947. Prehistoric boats from North Ferriby, East Yorkshire. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 13, 114–138.
- Wyss, R. 1956. The sword of Korisios. *Antiquity* 30(117), 27–28.
- Yates, D.T. 1999. Bronze Age field systems in the Thames Valley. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 18(2), 157–170.
- York, J. 2002. The life cycle of Bronze Age metalwork from the Thames. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21(1), 77–92.
- Young, R. and T. Simmonds 1995. Marginality and the nature of later prehistoric upland settlement in the north of England. *Landscape History* 17(1), 5–16.
- Zürn, H. 1964. An anthropomorphic Hallstatt stele from S. Germany. *Antiquity* 38(151), 224–226.



# Index

Page references listed in *italics* refer to figures

- Abingdon 138
- Acheiropoieta 8
- Acklam Wold 47–50, 48, 64, 192
- Adlingfleet 185
- Aisne-Marne 55
- Aldwinckle 48, 48
- Alexander Severus 6
- Alrewas 45–6, 50
- Als, Jutland 67
- ancien régime* 16–17, 24
- aniconic traditions 5, 21, 146, 188
- Antoinette, Marie 15
- Arch of the Argentarii 5
- Arras tradition 71, 107, 191, 193
- Austerfield 173, 175
- Aylesford, Kent 109, 151
- Aylesford-Swarling tradition 109
- Baghdad 19
- Baldock 109
- Bamiyan Buddhas 1, 19–20, 22, 24, 119
- Barca 122
- Barsham 140, 140–1
- Bastille 14, 16
- Battersea Shield 66
- Beccles 139–41, 139, 140, 159, 177
- Beowulf 70
- Berlin Wall 18, 188
- Berth ‘marsh-fort’ 128
- Bigberry 124–5
- Birdlip 109
- Biskupin 122
- body-painting 79
- Borremose bodies 102, 111–12
- Borremose Woman 1947 101
- Borremose Woman 1948 98, 111
- Bouchardon, Edme 14, 16
- Boudicca 82
- Bredon Hill 106
- Breiddin, Wales 126
- Bugthorpe 109
- Burton Fleming 93
- Buzbury Rings 132
- Býči-Skála 115
- Byzantium/Byzantine iconoclasm 3, 7–11, 17, 22, 25–6, 121, 188–90
- Caburn 46, 124–6
- Cadbury Congresbury 143
- Caesar 67, 69, 83, 87, 92, 94–5, 101, 142, 146–8, 168–9
- Calvin, John 11
- Canton Bern 71
- Cappadocia 9
- cart/chariot 51–6, 54, 64–5, 67, 71, 81, 107–8, 191, 193
- Cassius Dio 6, 82
- Catholic Church 11–15, 17
- Catholme 166, 167
- Cawthorn Camps 51
- Chalke Gate 8
- Chalôns-sur-Marne 55
- chariot *see* cart/chariot
- Chester 6
- childbirth 76–7
- Chi-Rho symbol 4, 22
- Cladh Hallan 112, 114, 118
- climatic deterioration 160–1, 182–3, 186–7
- Clonycavan Man 84, 87, 98–101, 103, 105, 110
- clothes 81, 79–82, 117
- Cockey Down 109
- Cold War 18–19
- Coleford 48, 48
- conservation as iconoclasm 24, 29, 189
- Constantine V 8, 11, 21, 24
- Constantine VI 8

- Constantine IX Monomachos 10  
 Council of Hieria 8  
 Council of Nikaea 8  
 Cromwell, Thomas 12  
 currency bars 66–8
- Damendorf Man 98, 100–1, 112  
*damnatio memoriae* 3, 5–7, 10, 22–3, 189  
 Danebury 93, 114, 116, 121, 123, 130,  
 132, 134, 134–7, 143, 145, 179  
 Dartmoor reaves 163–5  
 Dätgen Man 84–5, 87, 98, 102, 110, 112  
 Daujon, François 15, 119  
 Deal Warrior 44, 64, 72, 192  
 decapitation, of people 84, 102–3, 105–6,  
 112, 114–16  
 decapitation, of statues 1, 4, 6, 14–15,  
 17, 22  
 derisive songs 14, 16  
 Derryville Bog 174  
 destruction of meaning 26  
 Diodorus Siculus 82–3, 94–5, 114  
 discursive transformation 18, 23, 28–9,  
 31–2, 41, 74, 117, 121, 189  
 dissolution of the monasteries 12–13  
 Domitian, emperor 5–6, 22  
 Droitwich 178  
 Dürrenberg 178  
 Dyke Hills 138  
 dykes 123, 166, 168, 170, 172–73
- Edenthorpe 164, 165, 172  
 Egtved Girl 80, 81  
 Elagabalus 6–7, 21, 24  
 Elling Woman 85, 85, 87, 98–9, 102  
 enchainment theory 27–8, 35, 179  
 Entremont 114, 138  
 environmental determinism 174, 180  
 Ephesos 4  
 Ermine Street 174
- Farre 49, 49  
 Ferry Fryston 51, 53–6, 54, 63, 107  
 fire, as a target of iconoclasm 5, 7, 21–2,  
 28, 188  
 Fiskerton 141  
 Fison Way, Thetford 145  
 Flag Fen 163, 181  
 Forum Boarium 5  
 fragmentation theory 4, 27, 35, 39, 195  
 French Revolution 3, 14–17, 19, 21–4, 26,  
 72, 119–20, 188–9  
 Frescos 9–10
- Garden Hill 124–5  
 Garn Boduan 136  
 Garton Slack 45, 53–7, 107  
 Garton Station 53–6, 54, 64–5  
 Geldeston 140–1, 140  
 Geneva (iconoclastic riots) 11, 13  
 Glastonbury 93  
 Glauberg 44, 81  
 Gournay-sur-Aronde 49, 115–16, 145  
 Graffiti 1–2, 14–19, 22, 24, 194  
 Grauballe Man 83, 86, 90, 98, 102–4,  
 111–12, 192  
 gravestones/tombstones 6, 18  
 Great Woodbury 137  
 Grégoire, Abbé (Henri) 15  
 Grimston 71, 109  
 Grimthorpe 45, 109  
 Groves, attacks on 142, 145–9, 154–5, 191  
 Grutas Park 18  
 Gundestrup Cauldron 38, 57–8, 58, 60, 67,  
 81–2, 86, 191–2  
 Gussage All Saints 93, 114–15, 179
- Hagia Sophia 9  
 hair 71, 80–1, 83–7, 100, 117, 147, 191  
 Hallstatt 44, 55, 178  
 Hammersmith 46  
 Haraldskær Woman 86  
 Harlyn Bay 93  
 Hascombe 125  
 Hayling Island 68, 143, 145, 149  
 Heathrow 143  
 Heimatschützer (homeland protectors) 24  
 Hengistbury Head 104  
 Henry VIII 12  
 Herculaneum 25  
 Hieroclasm 26, 190  
 High Rocks 124–5  
 High Weald 125, 178  
 Hirschlanden 44  
 Hitler, Adolf 18  
 Hjortspring 49, 67, 81  
 hoards 36, 41, 46, 49, 50, 61–2, 66–8, 71,  
 82, 125, 127, 145  
 Hod Hill 136–7  
 Hrádock 122  
 Huldremose Woman 80, 86–7, 98,  
 112–13, 113  
 human sacrifice 71, 78, 87, 91, 94–6, 104,  
 106, 115, 191–3  
 Hunmanby 51, 53, 55  
 Hunsrück-Eifel 55  
 Hussein, Saddam 19, 119–20

- Icení 146, 194  
 iconoclasm 26, 190  
 iconoclasm, definitions 3, 20–3  
 iconomachy 9–10, 17, 26, 190  
 iconophobia 12  
 industrialised ‘total’ iconoclasm 18  
 intentionality 23–6, 29–32, 36, 40, 49, 61,  
     66, 74, 94–5, 112, 116, 118, 127, 149–50,  
     155, 157, 181–2, 186, 188–9, 193, 195  
 ISIS (Islamic State) 1, 19, 21, 188  
  
 jewellery 79, 82, 117  
  
 Karlstadt, Andreas 11  
 Kastron Mefaa 9  
 Kayhausen boy 78, 97–8, 102  
 Kelvedon 48, 48  
 Kemerton Camp 93  
 Kestor 164  
 Khludov Psalter 9  
 Kilham 65, 71  
 Kirkburn 38, 53, 55–6, 81  
 Kirkburn sword 38  
  
 Ladle Hill 132–3, 150, 153  
 Lakanal, Joseph 15  
 landscape iconoclasm 156, 187  
 Late Antiquity 3–5, 23  
 La Tène 38, 44, 48–9, 55, 66, 69, 71, 78,  
     107, 141  
 Le Cateau-Cambrésis 12  
 Lenin 17  
 Leo III 8  
 Leo IV 8  
 Leo V 9  
 life-history, biographical approaches 27,  
     32, 34  
 Lindow II (Lindow Man) 84, 86–8, 90,  
     98–100, 102–5, 110, 112, 192–3  
 Lindow III 88, 98–9  
 Lindow Moss 84, 104  
 Llyn Cerrig Bach 46, 48–9, 67, 78, 144  
 Llyn Fawr 144  
 Louis XV 14–16  
 Louis XVI 14–15  
 Louvre 15, 23, 120  
 Lucan 146–8, 154, 191  
 Luther, Martin 11  
 Lydney 143  
  
 Madaba 9  
 Maiden Castle 114–15, 121, 133–4, 136–9,  
     143, 145, 149–50  
  
 Malunje 48, 50  
 Manching 138  
 Mary I 13  
 Massilia (Marseille) 146–9, 154, 191  
 Meaux Abbey 12  
 Melksham 45  
 melting down 14–17  
 Mexican Revolution 23  
 Michael III 9  
 Middlewich 178  
 Mill Hill 44, 65, 109  
 Mona Insulis (Anglesey) 147–9, 154  
 Mont Beuvray (Bibracte) 138  
*Morte d'Arthur* 70  
 mosaics 9–10, 22  
 Mšecké Žehrovice 42–4, 43, 69, 72, 82,  
     86, 191  
 Mucking 122  
 Mujahedeen 21  
 Mussolini, Benito 18  
  
 narcotics 95, 104, 106  
 natural disasters 8, 24–5, 30, 180,  
     182–3, 186  
 Necker, Jacques 14  
 Neuchâtel 66  
 neutralising 23  
 Newbridge 51, 53, 55–6, 63, 107  
 Niederneundorf 122  
 Nimrud 1  
 Nitrinský 122  
 Northchurch 46  
 North Grimston 71, 109  
 Notre Dame 15–16, 22  
 Numancia 50  
 Nydam Mose 49, 71  
  
*Odyssey*, the 70  
 Old Croghan Man 98, 100–3, 105,  
     110, 112  
 Old Oswestry 136  
 Old Testament 3  
 Osterby Man 84, 87, 97–8, 102, 112  
 Ötzi 77, 89, 90  
 Owslebury 65, 109  
  
 Palazzo della Cancelleria 6  
 Palestine 9  
 Palloy, Pierre-François 14, 16, 19, 22  
 Palmyra 1, 20  
 Parisi 107  
 Pazyryk bodies 90  
 Persian fire 5, 7, 22, 28, 188

- Pexton Moor 51, 53  
 Pickburn Leys 164  
 Pigalle, Jean-Baptiste 15  
 pit-alignments 166–7, 167, 169  
 Place de la Concorde 14  
 Pliny the Elder 6, 83, 87, 142  
 Plutarch 50, 71  
 Polybius 50, 71, 82  
 Pompeii 2, 25  
 Portesham 37, 41  
 Potsdamer Platz 18  
 pottery 35–6, 38–9, 42, 44, 109, 114–15, 130, 141, 164, 176, 178  
 Poundbury 136–7  
 presence (metaphysical) 4–5, 7, 9–10, 20, 23, 29, 189  
 Preservationism 2  
 Protestant Reformation 3, 11–13, 16–17, 22–3, 26, 120, 188–9  
 Puteoli 6  
  
 Quarley Hill 130–3, 131, 163, 131  
 quarrying 176–7, 179  
  
 re-carving 6, 23, 189  
 recycling 34, 36–7, 40–1, 46, 72  
 removal of statues and objects 5, 15  
 repair 38, 40, 42, 45, 51, 56, 72–3, 82, 141  
 revolutionary France *see* French Revolution  
 Ribemont-sur-Ancre 116, 145  
 Ridgeway 130, 172–3  
 Roje 49  
 Roman roads 173, 175, 176  
 Rossington 173, 175  
 Röst Girl 97–8  
 Rotherley 93  
 Roum Man 102, 112  
 Rudston 65  
 Russian Revolution 17  
  
 St Lawrence 109  
 Saint-Sulpice 15, 22  
 Salisbury Cathedral 24  
 Sandtoft 185  
 Santorini 8, 186  
 scarification 75, 79, 88, 91, 117, 191  
 scatological attacks 15, 17, 23  
 Seahenge 153, 163  
 sea level rise 180, 184  
 Sedgford Torc 40  
 selective iconoclasm 4, 6, 13, 15, 17  
 semiclasism 26–8, 31–2, 190  
 semiotics 26–7, 74, 194  
 Shaugh Moor 164  
 Shouldham 109  
 Shovel Down 164  
 Sidbury 132  
 sign transformation 26–7, 31, 60, 117, 190, 194  
 Silchester 138  
 slavery 75–6, 78, 82, 117  
 Snettisham 46, 50, 68, 82  
 South Cadbury 93, 106, 136, 143  
 Spišský Štvrok 122  
 Springfield 48, 48  
 Sremska Mitrovica 50  
 stained glass windows, removal 13  
 Stalin, Joseph 17, 20, 120  
 Stansted 143  
 Stanwick 106  
 statues, toppling and destroying 1, 3, 14, 119–20  
 Stidsholt head 86, 112  
 Stonehenge 36, 77  
 Storegga 180  
 Strabo 80, 82–3, 95, 105, 114, 142  
 Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen 4  
 structured deposition 35, 62  
 Suddern Farm 132, 137  
 Suebian knot 84, 87  
 supernatural agency 25, 29, 30, 32, 61, 157, 181, 186–7  
 Sutton Common 106, 114, 125–9, 127, 133, 159, 161–2, 176–7, 177  
 swords 37–9, 46–51, 48, 49, 64–8, 70–2, 93, 115, 190, 193  
 symbols and text, additions as iconoclasm 4–5, 9, 15  
 syncretism 149, 154  
 Szabadi 49  
 Szoborpark 18  
  
 Tacitus 77, 79, 84, 86, 94–5, 100, 142, 147–8, 169  
*Táin Bó Cuailnge* 70  
 Taliban 1, 19, 21–2, 24, 188  
 tattoos 75, 79, 87–90, 117, 191  
 Ten Commandments 9, 13  
 text, destruction of 7, 15, 23, 188  
 Thames, river 46, 48, 66, 109, 144, 158, 183, 185  
 Theodora 9  
 Thwing 122, 159, 167, 167, 185  
 Tollund Man 83, 85–7, 98, 102, 104, 111, 112, 192  
 torture 75

- Trajan's column 84  
 Trent, river 144  
 Triumph of Orthodoxy 9  
 tsunamis 8, 25, 30, 180, 182, 186  
 Tyne, river 144  
 Tyrolean Iceman *see* Ötzi  
  
 Uchter Moor 97–8, 101, 112  
 Uffington Castle 130, 135, 152  
 Uffington white horse 151–3  
 Uley 143  
  
 Vachères 81  
 Valeria Victrix 6  
 vandalism 1, 15–16, 24–6, 29, 189–90  
 Varin, Pierre Vincent 16  
 Vesuvius 25  
 Vetulonia 50  
*via Domitiana* 6, 22  
 Vix 44, 55  
 volcanoes 8, 24–5, 30, 180, 182–3  
  
 Wallingford Bridge 48  
 Wall 'marsh-fort' 128  
 Waltham Abbey 46, 50  
 Weerdinge bodies 103  
  
 Welwyn Garden City 109  
 Westminster Palace 119  
 Wetwang Slack 52–4, 54, 56–7, 64–5, 71, 93, 107  
 Whitcombe 65  
 whitewashing/painting over 9, 13, 189  
 Windeby I 86–7, 97–8, 100–1, 112  
 Windeby II 83, 98, 100, 102, 111–12  
 Windsor Castle 119  
 witches 21  
 Witham, river 144  
 Woolbury 132  
 World Trade Center 19  
 World War II 18, 24, 152–3  
 Wrekin hillfort 136  
 Wycliff, John 11  
  
 Yarnton 108–9, 108  
 Yde Girl 86–7, 97–9, 101–2  
  
 Zavist 138  
 Zemplín 71  
 Zoroastrianism 5, 21, 188  
 Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje 49  
 Zweeloo Woman 98–9  
 Zwolle-Ittersumerbroek 187

This page intentionally left blank